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Memoirs of the Celts.

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MEMOIRS

OF

The Celts or Gauls.

BY

JOSEPH RITSON, ESQ.

The waies, through which my weary steps I guyde,
In this ' research of old antiquity,'
Are so exceeding spacious and wyde,
And sprinckled with such sweet variety,
Of all that pleasant is to eare or eye,
That I nigh rauisht with rare thoughts delight,
My tedious trauell doe forget thereby.

FAERIE QVEENE.

LONDON:

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BY WILLIAM NICOL, CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S.
1827.

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In this brief notice, the editors intention is, not to praise the following work, whatever may be its merit, but to authenticate it.

The MS. came into his hands, as residuary legatee and executor, amongst other books and papers of the author, upon his death, in 1803; and is now printed with a scrupulous adherence to the original; excepting, indeed, the omission of a few hasty epithets, appearing to be harsher than the occasion could require or justify, (which the author, had he lived to publish the work himself, would, probably, have altered;) and a reduction of Mr. Ritsons peculiar orthography to the common standard of our language.

Stockton upon Tees,
May 10, 1827.

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PREFACE.

THE Celts or Gauls are those who, in ancient times, and for many ages before the christian era, inhabited the country then called Celtica, afterward Galatia or Celto-Galatia, and Gallia or Gaul, now France, whence they, from time to time, migrated, in colonies, into the neighbouring countries of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain, and, even into Greece and Asia-minor. After many battles with the Romans, under Julius Cæsar, in which the Celts lost, in slain only, upward of a million of men,* they were completely reduced to slavery, and their whole territory became (what part of it had been before) a Roman province. About the year 420 the country of Gaul or Celtica, having, already, been harassed, and, in part, possessed by the Goths and Vandals and Burgundians, was invaded by the Franks, a nation of Germany, who, partly by

* Appian, (*Celtics.*)

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force, partly by friendship, mixed with and settled among the Celtic natives, and from this intermixture, with the accession, at a future period, of some Normans, Northmen, or Danes, are descended the present French. People of a Celtic race are yet to be found, in Wales, Ireland, the north of Scotland, the Hebrides or Western isles, the isle of Man, Armorica, now Basse Bretagne, and, in a district of the Alps, or Switzerland, called the Pais de Vaud;* in all which countries a dialect of the primitive language of the Celts is still the vernacular idiom, as it, not long since, was, likewise, in Cornwall, and, probably, in the eastern parts of Scotland: but no vestiges of that language (which seems to have been totally eradicated by the introduction of Latin and Teutonic) are known to be existing in any part of France, except, perhaps,

* The natives of this region are called Waldenses or Vaux-dois. They seem to know nothing of their origin, but their history has been written in German, by Martinet, under the [title of] *Kerkelyke Geschiedenis de Waldenzen*, and printed at Amsterdam in 1765, an extract from it being inserted in the *Bibliotheque des sciences*, for October, November and December, in the same year. See general Vallancey's "Essay on the Celtic language," in the 2d edition of his *Irish grammar*, p. 55.

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as in England, in the name of a mountain or a river, or, as already observed, in Britany otherwise Little-Britain, which received a colony of unfortunate Britons, abandoning their mother country, over-run by pagan Saxons, in the fifth or sixth century; chiefly, as would seem, by a similarity of dialect, from Cornwall or South Wales.*

The history of the Celts is an interesting and important subject, which has employed the pens of literary men, many of them eminent for learning and talent, from the age of Herodotus to the present time. Much, indeed, cannot be said in favour of the judgement and perspicacity of modern writers on this topic, who, nevertheless, do not stand very low in public estimation: as, for instance, Cluver, Schedius, Pezron, Pelloutier, Mallet, and others: who, though unquestionably, learned and industrious men, have, nevertheless, confounded, under the name of Celts, not only the Germans or Scandinavians, but, even, all the nations of the north. The only author, perhaps,

* A stronger circumstance may be that they have, actually, given the name of *Cornwall* (now *Cornouaille*) to a promontory in their new settlement; where they had, likewise, another *Saint Michaels mount*.

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entirely free from prejudice or error, is the accurate and perspicacious Schoepflin, who has displayed the question in the clearest light, and decided it in the most satisfactory manner. Settled, however, as the subject was to the entire gratification of every person of learning or integrity, it has been lately endeavoured to be thrown into more than its former confusion, ("confusion worse confounded,") by the author of a *Dissertation on the Scythians,** "The *Celts,*" he says, "from the Euxine to the Baltic, were call'd *Cimmerii*" ... and "from the ancients," he adds, "we learn, to a certainty, that they were the same people with the *Cimbri;*" who "it is clear from his [Herodotus's] account, were the ancient possessors of Germany;" and "That the *Cimmerii* or *Cimbri* were *Celts,* is as certain," according to his assertion, "as so very remote and obscure a subject will bear." Nothing, at the same time, can be more unfounded. The *Cimmerii,* a most ancient people, migrated from their settlements in the eastern extremity of Europe,

* London, 1787, 8vo., p. 45, 47. "The *Cimmerii,*" he repeats, "were as the ancients inform, the same with the *Cimbri;* and the *Cimbri* were *Celts.*" (*Enquiry into the history of Scotland*; London, 1789, I, 13.)

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where they left the name of the Cimmerian-bosphorus,* into the heart of Asia, where they seem to have all perished, about the 45th olympiad, or 600 years before the birth of Christ.† They are never afterward mentioned, by any writer, as existing in any part of the world. The *Cimbri*, on the contrary, inhabitants of the Cimbrica-chersonesus, now Denmark, were never heard of, till the year of Rome 640, being the 113th before Christ; when, associated with the Teutones, their neighbours, they penetrated, through Gaul, into Italy, where the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, by Marius, the consul; and that both these marauders were nations of Germany, and without the remotest affinity to the Celts or Gauls, is certain, from the united testimonies of Cæsar, Strabo, Mela, Tacitus, Pliny, Plutarch, and, almost, every ancient author, who has occasion to speak of them. It must be confessed, indeed, that Posidonius, who had travelled in

* The channel between the Euxine, or Black-sea, and the Palus-Maeotis or sea of Azof, now the straits of Caffa, or Jenicale. The Crimea, or Crim, the modern name of the Taurica-chersonesus is, thought by D'Anville, to be owing to the Cimmerii.

† See, in the Appendix, No. II. an account of this nation from ancient writers.

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Gaul, and, from the writings of that philosopher, no doubt, Diodorus the Sicilian, have indulged the conjecture, that the Cimmerii and Cimbri were the same people: but this random conjecture is, not only, unsupported, but utterly confuted, by more ancient, as well as more modern, writers.

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MEMOIRS OF THE CELTS.

CHAP. I.

Of the Origin and Name of the Celts.

THE Gauls (*Galli*, as those who, in their own language, assumed the name of Celts (Κελτοί, *Celtæ*) and had it formerly, from others, were called by the Romans)[1] affirmed themselves all

[1] Cæsar, *Gallic war* (B. i. C. i).—Herodotus, 470 years before the Christian era, calls them Celts (Κελτοί,) as do, likewise Aristotle, Polybius, Strabo, and later Greek writers, and even some of the Roman, as Silius Italicus, Martial, and Apuleius (*De mundo*), that is, *Celtæ*, as the Greek name seems to have been improperly rendered into their language, instead of *Celti* (the Latin C being, uniformly, pronounced hard like the Greek or English K). They were likewise known to the Greeks by the name of Galats or Galatians (Γαλαται), which is first given them by the poet Callimachus about 350 years before Christ, and nearly 100 before their settlement in Asia (Γαλατησι, *Hymn to Delos*, v. 184). Pausanias, in the second century, says that the name of Galatians (Γαλάται) had, only, obtained of late; and that, in former times, they were called Celts (Κελτοί), both by themselves,

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descended from father Dis, and said this to be declared by the Druids.[a]

and others. Appian, a writer of the same age, is the first, if not the only, Greek, who makes use of the Roman appellation Γαλλοι. Etymology has been long puzzled to account for the name of either *Celta* or *Gallus*. According to Lactantius, the Gauls (*Galli*) of old were called Galatians (*Galatæ*), from the whiteness of their body (See Jeroms preface to his commentary on the second epistle to the Galatians), from Γαλα, milk; as in Virgils *Æneid*;

——— "Tum *lactea colla*
Auro innectuntur—:"

Whether the word Γαλλος or *Gallus*, originally signified a *cock* or *capon*, cannot be now ascertained. If the former, it might have some allusion to the red or yellow colour of that bird, and, according to Vossius, the Greeks called the red appendage near the throat of the cock, which we term its wattles, καλλαια. The priests of Cybelé were called *Galli*, either from the operation they had undergone [Γαλλοι *spadones*,]* or, according to Ovid (*Fasti*, B. iv. V. 316), Pliny (B. v. C. 32) and Pompeius Festus, from the river *Gallus*, in Phrygia, whose water rendered those who tasted it insane, and not, as some will have it, from their red garments. Tertullian, as quoted by Pezron (C. 10), says that Saturn (whom the French abbot will have to be a Titan, or Celtic king) was decorated with a scarlet

* Hay, or whoever else was the translator of Livy, has, in one place, converted these *Galli*, into "fanatic *Gauls*" (B. xxxvii. C. 9); and, in another, into *Gallic* priests (B. xxxviii. C. 18): with manifest ignorance and absurdity.

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robe (*superjectio* Galitici *ruboris*). Martial (B. xiv. C. 129) writes,

" Roma magis fuscis vestitur, *Gallia rufis.*

Saint Jerom, to account for the name of *Galli*, pretends, that the Romans to avenge themselves of the Gauls, who had once taken Rome, used to emasculate persons of that nation (Com. on the 4th chap. of Hosea): an assertion in which he is unsupported by any writer, ancient or modern, unless it be Gervase of Tilbury, who gravely relates, that " Cæsar castrated the Gauls, when he had conquered them, to their disgrace" (*Otia imperialia*, Leibnits, *Scrip. Bruns.* 912.) After all, however, it may be thought most probable that Γαλαται (or Καλατοι, as it is in the Chronicle of Alexandria or Paschal-chronicle, cited by Pezron) is nothing more than a corruption of Κελτοι and *Galli* or Γαλλοι, a mere contraction of Γαλαται. The Romans seem to have confined the names of *Galatæ* and *Galatia* to the persons and country of the Gallo-Grecians, or Asiatic, Illyrian, and Pannonian Gauls. As to the rest, *Gallus* and *Galla* appear, from the epigrams of Martial, to have been common at that period. If, as it is suspected, they implied a red or yellow-haired person, it is possible that our Saxon word gealepe may be of the same family.

[2] Cæsar, *Ibi.* B. vi, C. 17. This tradition serves to prove that they considered themselves, like the Athenians, Sabines, and Germans, *autochthones*, sprung, as it were, from the soil, and had no idea of any prior settlement. *Dis* is *Pluto*. Callimachus is thought to call the Celts or Gauls the offspring of the Titans (Ὀφιγένοι Τιτῆνες); but this appellation seems intended rather as a hyperbolical compliment to his hero, king Ptolemy-Philadelphus, as if he were another Jove, than as a historical fact, or at all relating to the Celts (*Hymn to Delos*, V. 170, &c). The Greek writers, according to Appian, affirm that Polypheme the Cyclops had three sons by Galatea, *Celtus*,

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Illyrius, and *Gala*, who, going out of Sicily, reigned over the people, who from them are called *Celts*, *Illyrians* and *Galatians*, (Γαλατων, *Illyricks*, C. 1). Diodorus Siculus, however, relates that *Galates*, the son of Hercules, by the daughter of a king of Celtica, (Κελτικῆς) when he came to mans estate and was possessed of his grandfathers kingdom, having subdued many of the neighbouring countries and performed many notable actions by his sword, called his subjects after his own name, Galatians (Γαλατιανς) and the country *Galatia* (B. iv. P. 210). Parthenius, who tells the same story, says the fathers name was *Bretannus*, the daughters *Celtina*, and that of her child, by Hercules, *Celtus*, from whom the Celts were so denominated (C. 30). According to Ammianus Marcellinus, who professes to follow Timagines, a Greek writer, of uncertain age, who had made an express collection upon this subject, some affirmed that the people first seen in those regions were *aborigines*, called, from the name of a beloved king, *Celtæ*, and from that of his mother, *Galatæ*; for so, says he, the Greek tongue terms the Gauls. Others, that the Dorians, following the more ancient Hercules, inhabited the parts bordering on the ocean. The *Drasidæ* (r. *Drysidæ* or *Druidæ*) alledged that, true it was, a part of the people was indigenous, but that others had resorted from the utmost islands and the countries beyond the Rhine; being driven from their native seats by frequent wars, and the inundation of the raging sea. Some said that a few persons, after the destruction of Troy, flying from the Greeks, every where dispersed, occupied these parts, then void: but the inhabitants of those countries asserted, above all things (which, likewise, was to be read engraven on their monuments), that Hercules, the son of Amphitrion, hastened to the destruction of Geryon and Taurisc, two cruel tyrants, of whom one infested Spain, the other Gaul; and, that, both being vanquished, he lay with gentlewomen and had several children; and, that

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those parts which they governed were called after their own names (B. xv. C. 9). Such are the fables of the Greeks; and Josephus, the historian of the Jews, to be even with them, pretends that the Gauls "were the grand children of Noah, in honour of whom names were imposed on the nations by those that first seized upon them." Japhet, the son of Noah, according to this credulous or romantic writer, had seven sons, who inhabited so, that, beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanais (now, the Don), and along Europe to Gades (now Cadiz), which none had inhabited before: they called the nations by their own names: "for *Gomer*," he adds, "founded those whom the Greeks call *Galatians* [or Gauls, Γαλατας], but who were then called *Gomerites*." (*Antiquities*, B. i. C. 6.)

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CHAP. II.

Of the proper Country of the Celts.

HERODOTUS, the most ancient of historians, and who, first of all, mentions this people, says, "the river Ister,[1] beginning from the Celts (Κελτοί, *Celtæ*), and the city Pyrené, divides mid Europe, the Celts, however, being beyond the pillars of Hercules, bordering upon the Cynesians (Κυνησίοισι, *Cynesiis*), the last of all in Europe, inhabiting to the west; and, having measured all Europe, as far as the Istrians, a colony of the Milesians, flowing into the sea of the Euxine-Pontus, is there ended."[2] For the Ister, he says again, measures all Europe, its beginning being taken out of the

[1] The Ister is the Danube, which Diodorus (B. v. C. 2), reckons among the rivers of Gaul. It is likewise mentioned by Arrian, as the most considerable river in Europe, which washes the amplest tract of land, and flows through the most warlike nations, in the first place, through the Celtic, in which, also, its springs rise. (B. i. C. 3.)

[2] B. ii. This relation of the venerable father of history abounds, unfortunately, with two capital errors; for neither was *Pyrené* a *city*, nor does the Danube take its rise in the *mountain* of that name.

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Celts, who are the last of all in Europe to the setting of the sun, after the Cynetians (Κύνητες, *Cynetæ*[3]), and having measured all Europe, enters the sides of Scythia." Aristotle, who seems to have consulted Herodotus, one of whose errors he corrects, the other he preserves, says: Out of Pyrené (this is a mountain of Celtica, looking toward the equinoctial west), flow the Ister and Tartessus.[4] The same philosopher, in a different work, having asserted that in Illyricum, Thrace, and Epirus, asses are small, adds, in Scythia and Celtica there are clearly none, by reason of the great coldness of these regions."[5] "Neither," he repeats, "among the Celts, who dwell above Spain is there that kind of animal, for that province also is cold."[6] He, elsewhere, says, that, from Italy, they make a way to extend as far as Celtica, and the Celto-Ligurians; they call it Heraclea.[7] These Celto-Ligurians, by the more

[3] B. iv. These *Cynetæ* or Cynetians are unknown, being mentioned by no other writer; unless they be the *Cunetes*, who, according to Justin, inhabited the forests of the Tartesians, in which, it was said, the Titans waged war against the gods. (B. xliv. C. 4.)

[4] Concerning Meteorology, B. i. C. 13.

[5] Of the generation of animals, B. viii. C. 28.

[6] *Ibi.* B. viii. So, he says, of the isles of *Albion* and *Ierne*, "that they are above the Celts." (Of the world.)

[7] Of wonders.

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ancient Greeks called *Ligures*, were, as appears from Strabo, the inhabitants of that part of transalpine Gaul, which, in his time, was held by the Massilians (*Massilia*, now Marseilles).[8] Polybius, who calls both the transalpine, and the cisalpine Gauls by the name of Celts (Κελτοὺς), says of the former, The Celts inhabit the neighbourhood of Narbo and thence to the country, which they call the Pyrenees;[9] and, in another place: The Carthaginians had subdued all the coast of Iberia (now Spain) unto those rocks in which terminate at the sea the Pyrenëan-mountains, by which the Iberians and the Celts are separated from each other.[1] Diodorus, the Sicilian, asserts that those "who hold the interior parts above Marseilles and who inhabit about the Alps and on this (the Italian) side of the Pyrenëan mountains, they call Celts."[2] In another place he calls Alesia, a

[8] B. iv. [9] B. iii, C 4. [1] *Ibi.*

[2] B. v. C. 32. Those, he adds, who inhabit below Celtica, south and to the ocean and the mountain Hyrcinus and all those scattered as far as Scythia, are called Gauls [Γαλατας], though the Romans call all those people, generally, by one and the same name, Gauls [Γαλατας]: which, he says, many are ignorant of. This distinction might have begun to prevail in the time of this historian: but nothing can be more certain [than] that all those whom the Romans called Gauls were, by the Greeks, called Celts, and that, in a word, Gaul and Celt were synonymous even among the Romans. (See Silius Itali-

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city in Gaul, the siege whereof is so celebrated in Cæsars commentaries, the chief seat of Celtica, which, together with the rest of the Celtica, was subjected by Cæsar to the Roman empire.[3] Dennis of Bodroun calls that expedition in which Rome was taken, "the expedition of the Celts;" and the same people, by Livy, Florus, and Strabo, are called Gauls: the geographer deducing them, openly, from transalpine Gaul. He, likewise, says that the Tyrrhenians, who inhabited about the Ionian bay, and, in process of time, were driven thence by the Celts, endeavoured to destroy Cumas, a Greek city, in the country of the Opici. Now the Tyrrhenians are said by Polybius, Diodorus, and Plutarch, to have been ejected out of their seat by the Celts (Κελτοι); which may be made clear to those who doubt, even, by this circumstance, that all that coast was called, from

cus, throughout.) It was, therefore, a very unhappy conjecture of Strabo, that, from the Gauls, who inhabited the province of Narbo, and were formerly called Celts, this latter name was given to all the Gauls, either by the Greeks, on account of the celebrity of that nation, or by the Massilians (Marseillese), on account of vicinity conferring something of importance thereon. (B. iv, P. 189.)

[3] Strabo, most frequently, calls them Κελτοι, sometimes Γαλαται, never Γαλλοι: though Xylander generally uses *Galli* for *Celtæ* in the translation: very improperly, for, though the people were the same, their names were different.

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the new inhabitants Cisalpine Gaul, as both Plutarch and Appian witness. Finally, Dennis calls transalpine Gaul itself Celtica (Κελτικὴν.) Strabo, too, terms the Gauls *Celtæ*, and Gaul, both cis- and trans-alpine, Celtica.[3] Again: It is said, that all Celtica was bounded toward the west by the Pyrenean-mountains, touching either sea, as well external as internal: but, from the east, by the Rhine, which was parallel to Pyrené; from the north by the ocean, by the northern extremities of Pyrené unto the mouths of the Rhine; from the south by the sea, which was at Marseilles and Narbo, and the Alps, which beginning from Liguria stretch to the sources of the Rhine.[4] Dennis, the voyager, in his metrical description of the globe, attributes the name of Celts to the Gauls, places them, immediately, after the Iberians and asserts them to have their seat near the sources of the Po.[5]

[3] See Schoepflin, *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, pp. 11, 12, where the authorities are cited by book and chapter or page.

[4] B. iv, p. 176. Ephorus, a very ancient author, but according to this geographer, unworthy of credit, makes Celtica far exceeding in magnitude, reckoning to it the greatest part of that country, which was afterward called Iberia (now Spain); an error, in which he is followed by Marcian. See Schoepflin, *Vin. Cel.* p. 65.

[5] V. 280. "The Pyrenean-mountains are very great and divide Spain from Celtica or Gaul: but the Celts are said to

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Plutarch, not only, very often uses the word Celts with the same signification; but cites, likewise, the old poet Simylus, who ranks the Boians, a people of Gaul, as appears from Polybius, Livy, and Tacitus, among the Celts, by this token, that by Celts he means Gauls.[6] Concerning Plutarch himself, that he attributes to the Gauls the name of Celts and to Gaul, as well *cis-* as *trans-*alpine, the name of Celtica, the thing is, without doubt, from this, that he reports the Belgians to be the most powerful among the Celts and to inhabit the third part of Celtica.[7]

Arrian, by Celts, understands the cisalpine Gauls, when he 'describes' the Celts, dwelling at the Ionian-bay to have sent ambassadors to Alexander the great.[8]

Appian says: "Part of Italy, about the Ionian-bay, the Greeks inhabited, part the Celts, who, formerly, having undertaken a war, burnt Rome:

inhabit as far as to the Rhine, and, from these, all the European Gauls are called Celts by the Greeks." (Eustace, in his *Scholia.*)

[6] Life of Romulus, and Schoepflin, (p. 15.)

[7] Life of Cæsar, and Schoepflin, as above. He uses the words Γαλατῶν and Κελτῶν, promiscuously, in the life of Camillus.

[8] B. i, C. 1, and Schoepflin, p. 17.

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whom, when Camillus had pursued them flying, as far as to the Apennine, I suppose, the mountain being overcome, to have settled at Ionium for their paternal seats: whence, now, moreover, they name part of that region Gallic-Italy."[9] He often discourses of the Gauls, as well cis- as trans-alpine, under the name of Celts. Of the cis-alpine, he thus speaks: "In after times, when the Romans waged war against the Celts, borderers of the Po:" elsewhere: "Hannibal, coming to the river Eridanus, which is now called the Po, where the Romans contended in arms with the Boian Celts," and says, "The Rhone, truly, flows through the transalpine Celts into the Tyrrhenian-sea;" and, elsewhere, calls the Aquitains, Celts. In the book of the Iberian or Spanish wars, he joins the Celts and Gauls as synonyms: "The Pyrenean-mountain," he says, "extended from the Tyrrhene[sea]to the northern ocean: part thereof, which was toward sun-rise, inhabit the Celts (Κελτοὶ,) who are now surnamed Galatians and Gauls (Γαλάται καὶ Γάλλοι)."[1]

Pausanias calls cisalpine Gaul *Celtica* (Κελτικήν):

[9] Of the war of Hannibal, p. 550.

[1] Schoepflin, as above, p. 18. It was, however, but lately, he says, that they called themselves *Galatæ*, and were, likewise, so denominated by others *Celtæ*."

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" Of the Ligurians, who inhabit beyond the Po, above *Celtica*, they report a swan, famous by the praise of music, to have been a king."[2]

Ptolemy, calling transalpine Gaul *Celto-Galatia*, says, " it is divided into four provinces, Aquitain, Lyons, Belgi, and Narbon."[3]

Athenæus, in like wise, signifies Gauls by Celts:[4]

Dio of Nice, in Bithynia, relates: " In the most ancient times the people who inhabited on each side of the Rhine, called themselves, by one name, Celts." He likewise calls the Belgians, Celtics.

Stephen of Byzantium (now Constantinople), evidently denotes the Gauls by Celts, and Gaul by Celtica and Celtic-Gaul.[5]

Suidas, in the last place, under the word Κελτοὶ appears to design the Germans: " Celts, the name of a people; these, also, are called Germans:" but, says Schoepflin, if, accurately inspected, he, in truth, means the Gauls. The Senonians, certainly, whom it is in every ones confession to have been Gauls, as appears from Polybius (B. ii, P. 150, 152), Florus (B. i, C. 13) and others, he calls Celts, and ' describes' Valerius, a tribune of the soldiers, from the victory, in a

[2] *Ibi.* p. 20. [3] *Ibi.* p. 20, 21. [4] *Ibi.* p. 23.
[5] P. 85, 518; Schoepflin, p. 25.

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single combat obtained over one of those Celts, to have got the name of Corvinus (the raven): which, again out of Livy (B. vii, C. 22) and Florus (B. i. C. 13) appears to have happened in a war with the Gauls, and a Gaul to have been conquered by Valerius: for so Suidas himself, further describing the Celts, says, They who dwell near the river Rhine and have hostilely invaded the Albans, them, also, they call Senonians. These Celts brought war to the Romans: between whom a certain leader of the enemys forces challenged the bravest to single combat. Valerius, therefore, tribune of the soldiers, offered himself to that combat."[6] Cæsar, in the beginning of his commentaries of the Gallic war, says that all Gaul was divided into three parts; of which, one the Belgians (*Belgæ*) inhabited, another the Aquitains (*Aquitani*), the third those who, in their own language, were called Celts, (*Celtæ*), in the Roman, Gauls (*Galli*). These all differed among themselves, in language, customs, and laws. The river Garumna (now the Garonne) divided the Gauls from the Aquitains, the Matrona (now Marne) and Sequana (now Seine) from the Belgians. Therefore, the words *Celtæ* and *Galli*, according to Cæsar, were either syno-

[6] Schoepflin, p. 26.

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nymous or, plainly, the same words, pronounced, only, in a manner different from the Celts and the Latins: which, how difficultly often are spoken by foreign nations, Pomponius Mela is able to tell us, who when he had made mention of *Taunus* and *Rheticon*, Germanic-mountains, of the rest added these words: "unless the names of those which it is difficult to utter with a Roman mouth."[7]

According to Pomponius Mela, the region, which the Celts inhabited, was called *comata Gallia:* of the people were three principal names, and they were terminated by large rivers. For, from the Pyrenean [mountain] to the Garonne was Aquitain; from it, to the Seine were the Celts, thence to the Rhine belonged the Belgians. Of the Aquitains the most famous were the Ariscans, of the Celts the Æduans, of the Belgians the Treviri.[8]

Pliny says, all Gallia comata, called by one name, was divided into three kinds of people, distinguished, chiefly, by rivers: from the Scaldis (Scheld) to the Seine, Belgium; from that to the Garonne Celtica, and the same Lyonese. Thence to the stage of the Pyrenean-mount,

[7] G. W. B. i, C. 1; Schoepflin, p. 27, 28.
[8] B. iii, C. 2.

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Aquitain, before called Aremorica.[9] The Latin poets, nevertheless, occasionally, design all the Gauls by the name of Celts. So Lucan:

"His præter Latias acies erat impiger Astur,
Vectonesque leves, profugique a gente vetusta
Gallorum Celtæ miscentes nomen Iberis."[1]

Silius Italicus, likewise, names all the Gauls and, indeed, trans and cis-alpine, Celts: the transalpine when he writes that the Pyrenean-mountains divide the Celts from the Iberians (now Spaniards):

"At *Pyrenæi* frondosa cacumina montis
Turbata *Poenus* terrarum pace petebat,
Pyrene celsa nimbosi verticis arce
Divisos *Celtis* latè prospectat *Iberos*
Atque æterna tenet magnis divortia terris."[2]

He speaks of the Cisalpine Gauls, where he 'describes' the Trebia to run through the Celtic-fields and, elsewhere, makes mention of the Celts at the Po:

"*Eridani* tumidissimus accola *Celtæ*:"[3]

[9] B. iv, C. 17. [1] B. iv, V. 8. [2] B. iii, V. 415.

[3] B. xi, V. 45. In fact he calls the *Galli* by the name of *Celtæ* throughout his poem: nothing, therefore, can be more obvious and certain [than] that the *Gauls* and *Celts* are synonymous names and nations. That the *Celts* and the *Germans* were totally distinct people, 'is' ably, elaborately and decisively, proved, by the learned, accurate, and judicious Schoepflin, in his *Vindiciæ Celticæ, Argentorati*, 1754, 4to, p. 30, &c.

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Gaul, according to Cæsar, [as has been before observed,] was all divided into three parts differing among themselves, in language, customs, and laws.[4] "Of all these the bravest," he says, "are the Belgians: because they are furthest from the culture and refinement of the province,[5] and merchants very seldom come to them and import those things which tend

[4] Strabo, who takes notice of this trifarious division of Celtica, says that the Aquitains, manifestly, differed from the rest; not in language only, but in the form of their bodies; resembling Iberians (Spaniards) rather than Gauls (Γαλάτας): the rest, he adds, of the Gallic race, not that they, themselves, indeed, used all the same speech, but some had a little of diversity: in the form of government, moreover, and manners of life they little differed. Therefore, those who are nearest to Pyrené, called themselves Aquitains and Celts, divided by mount Cemmenus. (B. iv, p. 176.)

[5] That is, the *Roman province*, otherwise called Narbo Martius or provincia Narbonensis (now Provence). Strabo citing Polybius, as referring to Pytheas, who flourished about 280 years before the vulgar era, mentions Narbo, as one of the three most opulent cities of all those of Gaul, (B. iv, 190.) The Romans appear to have established this province 116 years before the vulgar era, and, certainly, long before that period and the preceding invasions of the Belgians and Aquitains, the whole of Gaul had been inhabited by the aboriginal or autochthonian Celts, whose antiquity is inscrutable, although, these invaders adopted their speech and manners.

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to effeminate the mind.[6] They are next to the Germans who dwell beyond the Rhine, with whom they continually wage war: for which cause, likewise, the Helvetians *(Helvetii)* precede the rest of the Gauls in valour; because they contend in, almost, daily battles with the Germans, either that they may keep them from their own borders, or they themselves carry the war into theirs. One part of them, which it is said the Gauls possess, takes its beginning from the river Rhone: it is bounded by the river Garonne, the ocean, the confines of the Belgians; it reaches, also, from the Sequani and Helvetians, the river Rhine, and verges to the north. The Belgians rise from the extreme confines of Gaul: they extend to

[6] "When [Cæsar] enquired from [the ambassadors of the Rhemi] what states there were, and how many in arms, and what they could do in war, he found it so: many Belgians to be sprung from the Germans, and having, of old time, crossed the Rhine, by reason of the fertility of the place had there settled and thrust out the Gauls who inhabited those places; and to be the only ones, who, in the memory of our fathers, all Gaul being troubled, had prevented the Teutons and Cimbrians to enter within their confines: from which thing to be done, that, by the memory of those things, they assumed to themselves great authority, and great spirits in warfare." *(G. W.* B. ii, C. 4.)

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the lower part of the river Rhine: they look toward the north and the rising sun. Aquitain, from the river Garonne to the Pyrenean-mountains and that part of the ocean which reaches to Spain, look between the setting sun and the north."[7]

This Gaul, after a colony therefrom had settled in Italy, was distinguished, by the Romans, with the appellation of *Gallia transalpina*, or Gaul beyond the Alps (as it was to them) and, likewise, *Gallia comata*, from the long hair the natives wore, as Narbo was, *Gallia braccata*, from a peculiar kind of breeches they used to wear.

[7] *G. W.* B. i, C. 1. The Aquitains, according to saint Jerome, boasted themselves of Greek origin (Com. ad Galatas, Pro. l. 2, c. 3.) Ephorus had, long before, said that the Celtic nation was studious of the Greeks (Strabo, B. iv, p. 199.)

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CHAP. III.

Of the Colonies, or foreign Possessions, of the Celts.

§ I. Colonies in Iberia.

To the west of the Pyrenean mountains, which divided Gaul from Iberia, inhabited the Celtiberians, possessing all that circuit of ground which is washed by the Tyrrhene-sea, and so round about by the pillars of Hercules to the vast northern ocean. Who were the first and most ancient inhabitants of Iberia, Appian thinks it not very necessary to make any strict enquiry; but, certainly, he says, the Celts, at some time or other, climbing over the Pyrenees, and mixing their habitations with the Iberians, thence acquired the name of Celtiberians.[1] In support of this idea, we are told by Diodorus, that these two nations, the Iberians and the Celts, having formerly debated in a war about their grounds

[1] *Ibericks*, B. vi, C. 2.

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peace being at length restored, inhabited the country promiscuously, and, contracting affinity by mutual marriages, from this common intermixture, the name of Celtiberians was reported to have been taken.[5] Thus Lucan:

——" profugique a gente vetusta
Gallorum Celtæ miscentes nomen *Iberis*."[3]

Thus too Silius Italicus:

" At *Pyrenæi* frondosa cacumina *montis*
Turbata—
Divisos *Celtis* late prospectat *Iberos*."[4]

Again:

" Venere et *Celtæ* sociati nomen *Iberis*."[5]

Strabo, likewise, speaks of the Celts (Κελτοὶ) who are now, he says, called Celtiberians (Κελτιβῆρες).[6]

From the Celtiberians, toward the north, were the Verones bordering upon the Cantabri Conisci; they, also, using the Celtic dress. Their city was Varia, at the passage of the Iberus.[7]

To the west of the Celtiberians were the Carpetani, a Celtic nation, whose city was Alea.[8]

The Celtics inhabited the region of Spain called Beturia, and were within the division Hispalensis. It is manifest that they came from the Celtibe-

[5] B. v, C. 2, p. 214. [3] B. iv, V. 9. [4] B. iii, V. 415.
[5] B. iii, V. 340. [6] B. iii, p. 158. [7] Strabo, B. iii, p. 162.
[8] Stephen of Byzantium, *Alea*; Strabo, *ibi.*

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rians of Lusitania, as appears by their religion, tongue, and names of towns.[9] They possessed all the west coast of Spain as far as Artabrum or Nerium, the Celtic promontory (now Cape Finisterre).[1] They were distinguished by the surnames of Neriæ, Præsamarci, Cileni.[2] The Celtici Neriæ appear to have been so called from the promontory Nerium, about which they inhabited, being relations of those *Celtici* who were at the river Ana.[3]

Last of all, the Artabri (or Aroterebæ) dwell at the promontory, which is called Nerium, upon which the west and north lines end.[4]

[9] Pliny, B. iii, C. 1. This region, which extended from the *Bætisto* and the *Ana*, was called *Beturia*, and part of it *Celtica*.

[1] P. Mela, B. iii, C. 1. Promontorium *Celticum*, quod alii *Artabrum* apellavere, terras, maria, coelum disterminant." (Pliny, B. iv, C. 20.)

[2] Pliny, B. iii, C. 1.

[3] Strabo, B. iii, P. 153.

[4] *Ibi*. Toward the north, from the Celtic to the Scythian promontory, the first people were the Artabri, also of Celtic race. (P. Mela, B. iii, C. 1.)

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§ 2. Colonies in Italy.

In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, the Bituriges[1] had the supreme authority among the Celtæ, who possessed one-third part of Gaul,[2] and gave them a king called Ambigatus. He was a very powerful prince, both on account of his bravery, private fortune, and flourishing kingdom: for under his government Gaul produced such plenty of corn and inhabitants, that it seemed scarcely possible to govern such a multitude: being himself grown old, and desiring to disburthen his dominions of this troublesome crowd, he signified to Bellovesus and Sigovesus, his sisters sons, young men of great activity, that he resolved to send them into whatever settlements the gods should grant them by augury. They might raise what number of men they pleased, that no nation, wherever they came, might be able to repel them. Upon this the Hercinian

[1] They inhabited the Canton of Berry, which lay in the centre of Celtic Gaul, between the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne.

[2] This, it is true, might be the case in the times of Cæsar and the historian, but there is no reason to think it was so in those of Tarquinius Priscus; when, unquestionably, the Celts possessed the whole of Gaul.

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forest fell by lot to Sigovesus; but the gods gave a far pleasanter journey into Italy to Bellovesus. He assembled the Bituriges, Avernians, Senones, Heduans, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, because these cantons were overstocked with people, and, marching out with a great army of foot and horse, came to the country of the Tricastini. They were soon after stopped by the Alps, which seemed to them impassable; nor can it be proved, by authentic records, that they had ever been passed by any, unless we give credit to the stories concerning Hercules. While the Gauls were hemmed in this place as it were, by the heighth of the mountains; and were looking round them for a way to pass into another world over hills, whose tops joined to the heavens, they were diverted from immediately prosecuting their design by a religious scruple, for having received intelligence that a strange people, the Massilians, who had sailed from Phocea to these coasts in quest of a settlement, were opposed by the Salyes, they considered their success as a happy omen of their own, and therefore helped them to fortify a city in the place where they first landed, surrounded by spacious woods. Upon this they marched over the pathless Alps, by the Taurinian forest; and, having defeated an army of Hetrurians, near the river

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Ticin, when they heard that the country where they were encamped was called Insubria, a name likewise, given to a Heduan canton, they complied with this favourable omen, and built a city, which they called Mediolanum.[3] After that, another body of Cœnomani, under the command of Elitovius, and assisted by Bellovesus, followed the tracks of the former, and, after they had passed the Alps, settled in those places which the Lebui then possessed, where, in the authors time, stood the cities of Brescia and Verona. After them came the Salluvii, who dwelled near the ancient nation of the Lævi, and Ligures, and settled about the river Ticin. Then the Boians and Lingones came over the Pennines, and taking possession of all the countries, between the Alps and the Po, passed that river in boats, and not only beat the Hetrurians, but even the Umbrians, out of the country. Nevertheless, they confined themselves within the Apennines. Then the Senones, the last of all the new comers, possessed themselves of the country, reaching from the river Utens to Æsis. It was this nation which came to Clusium, and then to Rome; but it is not certain whether they came alone, or assisted by all the nations of Cisalpine Gaul.[4] Plutarch

[3] Now Milan.

[4] Livy, B. v. C. 34-35. This expedition, he says, took place

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gives a somewhat different account of this expedition: the Gauls, he says, who were a Celtic race, when by reason of a burthensome multitude, their country was not able to sustain them all, are reported to have gone in search of new seats. They were many thousands of young warlike men, followed by a greater number of women and young children. Part of these, seating themselves between the Pyrenean mountains and the Alps, had inhabited for a long time near to the Senones and Celtorii: but that, having tasted the wine which was then first brought out of Italy, they were all so much taken with the liquor, and transported with the unusual delight, they snatched up their arms, and taking their families along with them, marched toward the Alps to find out the country which yielded such

two hundred years before the Gauls laid siege to Clusium (which was in the year of Rome 363), B. v, C. 35. The Gauls, says Justin, the country that produced them not being able to maintain them, by reason of their exceeding great numbers, sent out three hundred thousand men, as it were a sacred spring, to seek a new habitation. Part of these settled in Italy (B. xxiv. C. 4). Mr. Pinkerton pretends that "the *Senones* who took Rome, were the very *Semnones* of the south of Germany." (*Enquiry*, I. 15,) We know, however, from Cæsar, that the *Senones* were still, in his time, a nation of Transalpine Gaul, who bordered upon, but were no part of, the *Belgæ*.

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excellent fruit.[5] At their first coming, he adds, they occupied all that country which anciently the Tuscans had held, reaching from the Alps to the upper and inferior sea.[6]

The whole of Italy resembles a triangle. The eastern side is bounded by the Ionian sea and Adriatic gulph: the south and west by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian seas. The third side, toward the north, is terminated by a chain of mountains, called the Alps; which, beginning near Massilia, and the places above the Sardinian sea, extend without any interruption to within a very little distance of the inmost extremity of the Adriatic, and are considered as the base of the triangle. At the foot of these mountains, on the southern side, lie those plains of which we are now to speak. These plains form, also, the figure of a triangle; the top of which is made

[5] Then follows a romantic story of one Arron, a Tuscan, guardian to an orphan, named Lucumo, who afterwards eloped with Arrons wife; upon which, being unsuccessful at law, and hearing of the state of the Gauls, he went to them, and was the conductor of this expedition into Italy. Livy, however, who gives a different account of two brothers, Lucumo and Aruns, has no allusion in that place to the Gauls (B. i. C. 34); but in a subsequent book (v. C. 33), he has the report alluded to [by] Plutarch.

[6] Life of Camillus.

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by the junction of the Alps and Apennines, a little above Massilia. The northern side is bounded by the Alps, to the length of two thousand and two hundred stadia: the southern, by the Apennines, to the extent of three thousand and six hundred. The coast of the Adriatic forms the base of this figure: and contains in length, from Sena to the inmost part of the gulph, almost two thousand and five hundred stadia. So that the whole plains together include a space of near ten thousand stadia in circumference. Both sides of the Alps, as far as the ascent is easy, were inhabited by different nations. On that side which looks toward the north and the river Rhone dwelled those that were called the Transalpine Gauls. On the other side, the Taurisci,[7] and Agones, and other various tribes. The Transalpine Gauls derived their origin from the same common source with the rest; and obtained that appellation from their situation only, because they fixed themselves beyond the Alps. ... From the place where the Apennine mountains first begin, a little above Massilia, and from their junction with the Alps, the country on the side of the Tyrrhenian sea, quite down to Pisæ, the

[7] According to Strabo and Pliny, these *Taurisci* were, in their times, called *Norici*.

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first town of Tyrrhenia to the west, and that, also, on the side toward the plains, as far as to the confines of the Aretinians, was all inhabited by the Ligurians. Adjoining to these were the Tyrrhenians; and next to them the Umbrians,[8] situated on both sides of the mountains. The river Po, celebrated by the poets under the name

[8] The people of Umbria, according to Pliny, were supposed to be the most ancient of all Italy; and to have been named *Ombri* by the Greeks, for that in a general deluge of the country by *rain*, they only remained alive. (B. iii, C. 14.) Cluver, however, with more apparent justice, derives their name from *Umbro*, a river which ran through their country. It appears from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who calls them "an exceeding great and ancient people," and says they inhabited great part of Italy when the Pelasgi came into that country [about 1500 years before Christ] (B. i, C. 19,) that Zenodotus of Troezene, who had written their history, said the Sabines were originally *Umbri*. (B. ii, C. 49.) Florus, also, calls the latter "the most ancient people of Italy" (B. i, C. 17): and Solinus, after Bocchus, and Servius, after Marcus Antonius, say that they were the progeny of the old Gauls; meaning, no doubt, that they were of the same race or family; as it is in Tzetzes upon Lycophron: "The *Umbri* are a kind of Gauls." See Pezron, C 19. This, however, at any rate, supposes a much earlier Celtic settlement in Italy than any historian, Greek or Latin, has alluded to; though by no means destitute, at the same time, either of probability, or even of ancient authorities. Compared with the Umbri, the Ligures, and the Gauls, the Romans are but a people of yesterday.

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of Eridanus, divides these plains into two unequal parts. These plains were formerly inhabited by the Tyrrhenians: but the Gauls, who often visited this country for the sake of commerce, and had seen its beauty with a jealous eye, found occasion, from some slight pretence, to fall suddenly upon the Tyrrhenians with a powerful army, when they were in no expectation of an enemy: and having driven them from their native seats, they took possession of all the country that was round the Po. The first part of it, which lay nearest to the sources of the river, was seized on by the Laians and Lebecians. Next to these were the Insubrians,[9] a great and powerful nation; and after them the Cenomans. Below all these, and nearest to the Adriatic, were the Venetians;[1] a very ancient people, whose dress and manners greatly resembled those of the Gauls, though they used a different language. On the other side of the Po, the first in order, and the nearest to the Apennines, were the

[9] Strabo, likewise, reckons the Insubres among the Celts: "About the river Po," he says, "formerly very many Celtæ inhabited; of whom the principal nations were the Boii and Insubri." B. v. Stephen of Byzantium, also, places the "*Insobares*, a Celtic nation, at the Po, whom they also call *Insobras*." P. 147.

[1] "These Veneti," says Strabo, speaking of the inhabitants of

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Ananes; and next to these, the Boïi.[2] Between the Boii and the Adriatic, were the Lingonian Gauls, and lower down, upon the coast, the Senones.[3] From the time of their first settlement

ancient Gaul, "I reckon the authors of the Venetians in the Adriatic bay (although almost all the other Celts who are in Italy have immigrated thither from the trans-alpine regions, as the Boii and Senones;) whereas others ascribe their origin to the Paphlagonians, for that they likewise are called Heneti or Veneti." B. iv, P. 195.

[2] The Boii, or Boians, according to Strabo, were one of the principal nations of the Celts about the Po. It was they, who in conjunction with Insubrians, Senones, and Gæsatæ, in a sudden incursion, took Rome. These truly, says he, in process of time, the Romans destroyed: but the Boians they ejected out of their habitations, who, afterward, when they had emigrated, together to the Ister, dwelled among the Taurisci, and waged war against the Daci, until the whole nation of them was cut off, and the soil, which belonged to Illyricum, left a desert and a pasture for the neighbouring herd. (B. v, p. 213.) Pliny, upon the authority of Cato, says their tribes were 112. (B. iii, C. 15.)

[3] The *Galli Senones*, according to Florus, were a nation wild, unpolished in its manners, beside so every way terrible for the bigness of their bodies, as well as vast arms, that it seemed produced for the destruction of men, and the ruin of cities. They formerly coming from the utmost coasts of the earth, and the ocean surrounding all things, with a great army, after they had wasted all the countries in their way, took up their habitation betwixt the Alps and the Po, and not content with that, strolled about through Italy. (B. i, C. 13.) Livy calls the same

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in these plains, the Gauls not only maintained themselves in safe possession of the country, from whence they had driven the Tyrrhenians, but by the terror of their arms forced many of the neighbouring nations, also, to receive their yoke. They were afterward, for some time, engaged in domestic wars. Some of the people, also, that lived among the Alps, envying them the possession of a country that was so much better than their own, turned their arms against them, and made frequent incursions upon their territory.[4]

Gauls, "a strange and unknown enemy from the ocean and utmost borders of the earth:" meaning, with Florus, nothing more than the extremity of Gaul.

[4] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2. The whole of Gallia Cisalpina, otherwise Citeria, or Circumpadana, was likewise, even in the time of Cicero, called *Gallia togata* from the *toga*, or gown, which, as citizens, they had the privilege of wearing, granted to them by the Romans, who gave it all these names. "We know," says Pinkerton, "that the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, and of Gallia Braccata, were all *Germans*, and not one *Celt* among them." (*Inquiry*, I, 25). But they were, in fact, all *Celts*, and not one *German* among them.

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§ 3. Colonies in Germany.

It appears from a passage of Livy, already cited, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, having resolved to send Bellovesus and Sigovesus, his nephews, with a great number of Gauls, in pursuit of new settlements, the Hercynian forest fell by lot to Sigovesus. This expedition seems to be alluded to by Cæsar. Formerly, he says, the Gauls exceeded the Germans in bravery, often made war upon them, and, as they abounded in people beyond what the country could maintain, sent several colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly the more fertile places of Germany, in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian forest (mentioned by Eratosthenes and other Greek writers under the name of Orcinia)[1] fell to the share of the Volcæ-Tectosages, who settled in those parts, and had (to the time of Cæsar) ever since kept possession. They were in the highest reputation for justice and bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for poverty, abstinence, and patience of fatigue; conforming exactly to their customs,

[1] Now Schwarts-wald, Forêt noire, or the Black Forest.

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both in habit and way of living.[2] The Volcæ had been a people of Narbon Gaul, and were divided into *Volcæ Arecomici*, and *Volcæ Tectosagæ*. The former inhabited to the west side of the Rhone, and their capital was Nemausus. The latter approached the Pyrenean mountains, and had for their metropolis Tolouse.[3]

That the Gauls were in times past more puissant and formidable than they were in those of Tacitus, is related, he says, by the prince of authors, the deified Julius; whence it is probable that they too have passed into Germany. For what a small obstacle must be a river to restrain any nation, as each grew more potent, from seizing or changing habitations, when as yet all habitations were common, and not parted or appropriated, by the establishment and terror of monarchy? The region, therefore, between the Hercynian forest and the rivers Meyne and Rhine was occupied by the Helvetians, a nation of Gaul.[4] In process of time part of this colony,

[2] *G. W.* B. vi. C. 22. Mela, likewise, Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy call this people *Tectosages*: but they are called *Tectosagi* by Livy, Florus, Justin, and Ausonius.

[3] Schoepf. *Vin. Cel.* p. 113.

[4] Tacitus, *De mo. Ger.* Schoepflin conjectures this colony to have been part of the force led out by Sigovesus. *Vin. Cel.* p. 109.

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neglecting Germany, seems to have coveted the fertility of Italy; whence this part of Germany, deserted by the Helvetians, was called *the desert of the Helvetians*; which name is preserved by Ptolemy the geographer in his description of Germany.[5]

The Boii, another colony from Gaul, occupied the region beyond the Helvetians, with whom they were allied both by nation and friendship. Posidonius, a more ancient writer than Strabo, by whom he is quoted, relates that the Boians formerly inhabited the Hercynian forest; and that the Cimbri, when they had arrived at those parts, were by them repulsed. They were in that territory, which, taking its name from them, is to this day called Bohemia. There still, says Tacitus, remains a place called *Boiemum*, which denotes the primitive name and antiquity of the country, although the inhabitants have been changed. They were driven thence, in the age of Augustus Cæsar, by the Marcomanni, under the command of Maroboduus; who is mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, and also by Tacitus, as king of that country. They likewise settled in Noricum (a large district, now in part Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Bavaria, &c.) as we learn

[5] Schoepf. *ubi supra.*

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from Cæsar, who says, The Helvetians, having received the Boians, who had inhabited beyond the Rhine, and passed over into the territory of Noricum, and taken possession of Norica (now Nuremburgh), took them as their allies.[6] The city of *Boiodurum*, at the passage of the Danube preserved a long time the Boiic name in these parts. *The Desert of the Boians*, so called from their having abandoned this country, either when they passed into Asia, or penetrated with the Helvetians into the west part of Gaul, is mentioned both by Strabo and Pliny.[7]

The Gothini are thought to have been of the colonies of Gauls, who followed Sigovesus. They inclosed the Marcomanni behind, and so inhabited the neighbourhood of the Boii, before the latter were driven out of Bohemia. From the Gallic language spoken by the Gothinians, it is manifest

[6] *G. W.* B. i, C. 4.

[7] Schoepf. *Vin. Cel.* p. 111. "Amongst the people of Germany," says Tacitus, "I would not reckon those who occupy the lands which are under decimation, though they be such as dwell beyond the Rhine and the Danube. By several worthless and vagabond Gauls, and such as poverty rendered daring, that region was seized as one belonging to no certain possessor: afterward, it became a skirt of the empire, and part of a province, upon the enlargement of our bounds, and the extending of our garrisons and frontier."

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that these people were not Germans; as it is, also, from their bearing to pay tribute: part of which was imposed upon them, as aliens, by the Sarmatæ, and part by the Quadi. To heighten their disgrace, they were forced to labour in the iron-mines.[8]

The Treverians and Nervians aspired passionately to the reputation of being descended from the Germans, since by the glory of this original, they would have escaped all imputation of resembling the Gauls, in person and effeminacy.[9]

The Æstyi inhabited, to the right shore of the Suevic, now the Baltic sea, in part of modern Prussia, Lithuania, and Livonia. They used the customs and attire of the Suevi, but their language was more like the British: and their attachment to agriculture, which the Germans neglected, proves them to have been a different people.[1]

[8] Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*. Schoepflin, *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, p. 114.

[9] Tacitus, *ibi*. Dio, likewise, calls the *Nervii* a Celtic nation, though Cæsar reckons them among the *Belgæ*.

[1] Tacitus, *De mo. Ger.* Schoepf. *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, p. 115.

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§ 4. Colony in Britain.

THE inhabitants of Britain, according to Diodorus, were the original people thereof, and lived to his time, after their own ancient manner and custom.[1] Cæsar, however, says, that the interior part was inhabited by those whom they reported by tradition to be born in the island itself;[2] and the maritime part, by those who, for the sake of war and plunder, had passed over out of Belgium; who almost all were called by those names of cities, from which cities they came thither, and making war, there settled, and began to cultivate the ground.[3] Tacitus confesses, that who were the first inhabitants of Britain, whether natives of its own, or foreigners, could be little known amongst a people so barbarous. In their looks and persons, he says, they vary, from whence several arguments and inferences were formed: for, the red hair of the Caledonians, and their large limbs, testified their descent to be from Germany.[4] The swarthy complexion of the

[1] B. v. C. 2.

[2] *Natives*, that is, *of the soil, aborigenes, autochthones, autogenes.*

[3] *Gallic War*, B. v, C. 10.

[4] How so? both were no less characteristic of the ancient

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Silures, and their hair, which was generally curled, with their situation opposite to the coast of Spain,[5] furnished ground to believe, that the ancient Iberians had arrived from thence here, and taken possession of the territory. They, he continues, who lived next to Gaul, were also like the Gauls; whether it were that the spirit of the original stock from which they sprang, still remained, or whether, in countries near adjoining, the genius of the climate confers the same form and disposition upon the bodies of men. To one who considered the matter, he concludes, it seemed, however, credible, that the Gauls at first occupied this their neighbouring coast.[6]

Gauls. The Germans, says Strabo, inhabiting beyond the Rhine, are little different from the Gauls, if you regard their extreme fierceness, the magnitude of their bodies, and their yellow-colour [ed hair]. In form, and manners, and diet, they are very like the Gauls: and therefore, rightly, seem the Romans to have given this name to them when they would shew them to be brethren of the Gauls (an etymological conceit!) B. vii, p. 290. See also, B. iv, p. 195.

[5] The Silures were on the west coast, in modern South-Wales, at a vast distance from, and by no means opposite to, the coast of Spain. He might be led into this idea by some erroneous map of Britain, such a one as might be collected from Ptolemy, or as is actually in Richard of Cirencester.

[6] *Life of Agricola.* He gives his reasons for this opinion, which are elsewhere made use of, and seem convincing.

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Ptolemy, in his geographical description of Albion, the most ancient name of the island of Britain, enumerates, amongst its inhabitants, the Parisii, Atrebatii, and Belgæ, nations of the same name with those of Gaul.[7] There appears, like-

[7] B. ii, C. iii. According to Bede, this island had, at first, no inhabitants but Britons, from whom it received its name, and who, as was reported, coming from Armorica, challenged the southern parts thereof for themselves. (B. i, C. 1.) This report, however, seems to have been founded on the more modern name of Armorica, *Little Britain*, which it obtained from the Britains who, being driven out of, or flying from, their own country, at the time of the Saxon invasion, obtained a settlement in that district.

There was, in fact, a more ancient settlement of *Britanni*, in a different part of Gaul, in the neighbourhood, that is, of Estaple, Montreuil, Hesdin, and Ponthieu, between the Somme and the Canche, in modern Picardy, Artois, and Boulonnois, who are much more likely to have given their name to the inhabitants of Britain. They are mentioned by Pliny (B. iv, C. 17), as well as, perhaps, by an earlier Greek author, Dionysius Periegetes (V. 284), and, though unnoticed by Cæsar, are not, on that account, to be concluded adventurers from Britain after his time. The *Angli*, a petty Saxon tribe, gave, in after-times, their own name to a great nation, of whom they formed but a small part: as the Scots did, first, in Ireland, and, afterward, in Albany. It would be a miserable waste of time to consider, or even repeat, the etymologies of learned men for the names of Britain and Britons; most of which are

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wise, to have been some connection between the two countries, the nature of which we are unable

perfectly ridiculous and absurd.[8] It may be observed, however, that, beside these *Britanni* of Gaul, the *Bruttii*, a people of Italy, in modern Calabria, were, in like manner, called by the Greeks Βρεττίοι, and their country Βρεττία and Βρεττανία. (See Salmasiuses *Exercitationes* on Solinus, pp. 196, 227). A fact of which the above learned etymologists do not appear to have been aware, or at least to have taken any notice. Paul Warnfrid (or *Paulus Diaconus*) mentions the death of one Sindualdus, King of the *Bretoni*, or *Britanni*, a nation of Italy, who was hanged by Narses, the imperial chartulary. *De gestis Langobardorum*, L. ii, C. 3.

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[8] It is a principal question whether *Britannia*, the name of the island, be immediately formed of *Britanni*, the name of the people, with the termination *a*, as *Lusitania*, from *Lusitani*, *Aquitania*, from *Aquitani*, *Albania* from *Albani*, *Gallia* from *Galli*, &c. or whether, upon the supposition that *tania*, anciently implied a country, as *tan* appears to do in Persian, the name of the people have not been taken from that of the country; or, the latter, *in tertio loco*, originally formed from a different name of the people, as *Brittania*, from *Britti*, *Mauritania*, from *Mauri*, &c. The first Greek author who uses that name of which the Romans made *Britannia*, is Aristotle, who wrote about 350 years before Christ. He calls it Βρεττανία, as do likewise, Diodorus, Strabo, Ptolemy, Agathemer, Polyænus, Dio, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others. Cleomedes, Marcianus Heracleota, St. John Chrysostom, and others, write Βρεταννία. The same Marcianus, in another place, has Βρεττανική, and Πρεταννία. A quotation by Camden, Πρε-

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to ascertain: as Divitiacus, king of the Suessiones, one of the most powerful princes of all Gaul, beside his dominions in those parts, reigned also over Britain.[9]

It is probable, though not certain, that not only Ireland, the *Hibernia* of the ancients, but the *Æbudæ*, or *Hebudes*, and other islands on the coast, or in the neighbourhood of Britain, were inhabited, in ancient times, by Gauls or Celts, migrating, perhaps, immediately from Britain. Ireland, either in soil or climate, or in the temper and manners of the natives, varied little, as we are told by Tacitus, from Britain:[1] and Diodorus, long before, speaks of "the *Britons* that inhabit *Iris*."[2]

[9] Cæsar, G. W. B. ii, C. 4.
[1] Life of Agricola.
[2] B. v, C. 2.

τανις. Dionysius Periegetes and Polybius have Βρεττανίδες νησοι. The inhabitants are called by Dionysius Βρεττανοι, by Strabo, and others, Βρεττίανοι.

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§ 5. Colony in Noricum.

The Boii, who had inhabited beyond the Rhine, and had passed over into the country of Noricum, and possessed themselves of Norica, were received by the Helvetii, who formed an alliance with them.[1] The city of Boiodurum, seated at the very traject of the Danube, hath long preserved clear vestiges of the Boiic name in those parts. It was situate in the confines of Vindelicia and Noricum, where the river Oenus flows through both provinces: whence it is enumerated by Ptolemy among the cities of Vindelicia.[2] Both Strabo and Pliny mention the *deserta Boiorum*, or desert of the Boians; a name which seems to have been left by this people, [as already observed] when, abandoning their habitations here, they passed over into Asia, or, with the Helvetians, penetrated into the west part of Gaul.[3]

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. i, C. 5.
[2] Schoepf. *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, page 111.
[3] Idem, *ibi.* page 112.

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§ 6. Colonies in Pannonia.

The Gauls, as we are informed by Justin, the country that produced them being not able to contain them, by reason of their exceeding great numbers, sent out three hundred thousand men, as it were a sacred spring, to seek a new habitation. Part of these penetrated into the furthest part of Illyricum, and settled in Pannonia. There, after they had subdued the Pannonians, they carried on various wars with their neighbours for many years.[1]

The Gauls having managed their war against the Delphians unfortunately, and having lost their general, Brennus, part of them fled, like banished men, into Asia, part into Thrace. Thence, by the same way they came, they made back again to their own country. No small number of the Tectosagi, tempted by the sweetness of plunder, returned to Illyricum, and having rifled the Istrians, settled in Pannonia.[2]

A certain body of them, also, settled about the

[1] B. xxiv, C. 4. Pannonia was a large country, comprehending modern Hungary.

[2] B. xxxii, C. 3. See Schoepf. *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, p. 125.

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conflux of the Danube and the Save, and 'took the name of *Scordisci*.'[3]

These Scordisci, being reduced by frequent wars with the Triballi, and broken also by a similar slaughter by the Romans, took refuge in the islands of the Ister. After a time, however, part of them, returning, transferred themselves into the furthest shores of Pannonia.[4] They are, likewise, placed by Ptolemy in lower Pannonia; and Pliny says they were in the front of Mount Claudias in that country.[5]

Part of the Taurisci, also, were, in Pannonia on the back of the same mountain.[6]

The Japides, Japodes, or Japydes, a Celtic nation, or rather, partly Celtic and partly Illyric, being an intermixture of Illyrians and Celts, neighbours to the Carni, were seated under Mount Albius, which was at the head of the Alps and very high and reached partly to Pannonia and the Ister, and partly to Adria: a warlike race, but entirely defeated by Augustus-Cæsar. Their cities were Meturum, Arupinus, Monetium, and Vendum.[7]

[3] *Ibi.*

[4] Appian, *Illyrics.* He says, that the race of the Scordisci remained in this country even in his own time.

[5] B. iii, C. 25. [6] Ibi.

[7] Stephen of Byzantium, B. iii, C. 5; Pliny, B. iii, C. 18; Strabo, B. vii, p. 314. Dio Cas. D. xlix, p. 412.

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They lived chiefly upon oatmeal and millet; wore Gallic armour; and their bodies were punctured after the manner of the other Illyrians and Thracians. Stephen of Byzantium calls this people a Celtic nation near Illyria. Their destructive slaughter, which happened in the year of Rome 721, is related by Dio Cassius. After the shore of the Japodes Liburnica succeeded.

The Bastarnæ differed from the Scordisci, their neighbours, neither in their language nor in customs.[8] They were mixed with the Thracians.[9] Polybius calls them Gauls or Galatians [*Galatæ*, Γαλαται]:[1] and Plutarch, also, in the life of Paulus Æmilius, expressly says that Perseus "privately solicited the Gauls [Γαλατας], who dwelt near the Danube, and who are called *Bastarnæ*."[2]

[8] Livy, B. xl, C. 57. He elsewhere makes Callicrates, the Achæan, say, "First of all he [Perses] sent the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*, to the great terror of all Greece, who, had they continued there, would have found them more oppressive neighbours than the *Gauls* were to the *Asiatics*." B. xli. C. 23.

[9] Strabo, B. vii, p. 454.

[1] *Excerpta legationum*, C. 62, a quotation of Pelloutier. The compiler of this work having never been able to see, or hear of the book itself, though he has applied to great scholars.

[2] According, however, to Tacitus, the *Peucini*, whom some

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The Boii, and Taurisci (by some called Liguriscæ and Tauristæ), two Celtic nations, were, likewise, intermixed with the Thracians and Illyrians. They were seated on the back of mount Claudius, in Pannonia.[3] Both these nations, being then subject to Critasirus, or Cretosirus, were destroyed by the Getes, under Bærebistes.[4]

called *Bastarnæ*, spoke the same language with the Germans, used the same attire, &c. *De mo. Ger.* These, however, might be a different people.

According to Strabo, at the mouth of the Ister was the great island *Peuce*, which being holden by the *Bastarnæ*, they were, also, named *Peucini*. B. vii, p. 307. They seem, from this excellent geographer, to have been a German nation, and had passed the Danube in pursuit of other seats.

[3] Pliny, B. iii, C. 25.

[4] Strabo, B. vii, pp. 303, 313.

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§ 7. Colony in European Sarmatia.

From the extreme north of Asia to the beginning of the eastern summer were the Scythians. Beyond them, and on the further side, the beginnings of the north, some placed the Hyperboreans, with many more said to be in Europe. Thence, in the first place, was discerned the promontory of the Celtica Lytarmis, the river Carambucis, where, being wearied with the force of the stars, the tops of the Riphæan mountains end.[1] The name of this promontory implies a Celtic colony and, it is, expressly said by Plutarch, that a part of the Gauls or Celts, having surmounted the Riphæan mountains, invaded the coasts of the northern ocean and seated themselves in the extremity of Europe.[2] The inhabitants of these parts seem to be designed, by some authors, under the appellation of *Celto-Scythæ*.[3]

[1] Pliny, B. vi, C. 14. The *Celtica Lytarmis*, according to D'Anville, is Cape Candenos, a point of land projected into the icy sea. The Carambucis, he makes, the Dwina, in Russia, but says the Riphæan mountains do not exist near the sources of the Tanais, as Ptolemy represents.

[2] *Life of Camillus*, p. 135. See, likewise, Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 16, and Scoepflin, p. 60.

[3] See Strabo, B. i, p. 33; B. xi, p. 507; Schoepflin, p. 137.

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§ 8. Colonies in Asia Minor.

The Gauls, leaving their native country in multitudes, either because it was too small to contain them, or from the hope of booty, and imagining they would meet no nation in their route a match for them in war, arrived, under the command of Brennus, in the country of the Dardanians. Here they mutinied, and twenty thousand, separating from Brennus, went to Thrace, with two petty princes, Lomnorius and Lutarius at their head.[1] There by vanquishing those who opposed them, and laying others, who solicited peace, under contribution, they penetrated as far as Byzantium, and made themselves masters of all the cities of Propontis, and caused them for a long time to pay tribute.[2] Then the

[1] Thus also Strabo: The leader or conductor of these Gauls into Asia, is generally thought to have been Leonorius, B. xii, p. 566.

[2] It is these Gauls, therefore, of whom Polybius speaks. The Gauls (or Celts, Κελτοι) that were led by Comontorius, and, arriving in the country of the Byzantines, turned their arms against them, were a part of that numerous army, which had left their native seats under the command of Brennus: but, having happily escaped the general slaughter that was made of

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fertility of Asia, which was so near attracted them. Having taken Lysimachia[3] by stratagem, and subjected all the Chersonesus, they carrried their arms as far as the Hellespont. Perceiving from thence Asia separated from them only by a narrow streight, they had a strong inclination to go thither. Accordingly they sent deputies to Antipater, governor of that coast, to solicit permission to pass. But this negotiation being retarded longer than they expected, a fresh quarrel arose between their chiefs. Lomnorius went back to Byzantium, whenee they had come, with the greatest num-

their companions in the neighbourhood of Delphi, and arriving near the Hellespont, they were so much charmed with the beauty of the country that lay round Byzantium, that they resolved to settle there, and not pass over into Asia: and having in a short time subdued the neighbouring inhabitants of Thrace, and fixed their seat of government at Tyle, they seemed to threaten Byzantium with the last destruction. The Byzantines therefore, in the first incursions that were made by Comontorius upon their country, paid sometimes three and five thousand, and sometimes even ten thousand pieces of gold, to save their lands from being plundered; and, afterward, submitted to pay a yearly tribute of fourscore talents; which was continued to the time of Cavarus, who was the last of their kings. For the Gauls were then conquered by the Thracians in their turn, and the whole race extirpated. (B. iv, C. 5.)

[3] A city of Thrace, founded by Lysimachus.

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ber of them. Lutarius sent several spies, under the appearance of deputies to Antipater, who brought away two decked ships, and three open pinnaces. By transporting in these one body after another, night and day, they all soon got over. Not long after, Lomnorius followed from Byzantium, and by the help of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, passed the Hellespont. Then the Gauls united again, and aided Nicomedes against Zyboetas, who then occupied part of Bithynia. The defeat of the latter was chiefly owing to them, and Nicomedes thereby became master of all that kingdom.[4] Leaving Bithynia, they went to Asia. They were twenty thousand in number, but not above ten thousand had arms. However, they struck such a terror into the Asiatics, on this side mount Taurus, that they all submitted, those they did not come to, as well as those they did, the most remote, as well as those near. Lastly, as they had been originally three clans,

[4] Strabo, who says these Galatians (Γαλάται) were seated toward the south of the Paphlagonians, adds, that, when, after wandering a long time, they had harassed with incursions the dominions of the kings of the *Attalici* and *Bithyni*, at length received from them voluntarily this country, in his time called *Bithynia* and *Gallogrecia*, B. xii, p. 566. See, also, Justin, B. xxiv, C. 4; B. xxv. C. 2: St. Jerom, *Prologue to his Com. on Galatians*, B. ii.

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the *Tolistoboii*, *Trocmi*, and *Tectosagi*,[5] they also divided by lot Asia Minor into three parts, each of which paid tribute to one of them. The *Trocmi* had the coast of Hellespont, the *Tolistoboii*, Æolis and Ionia, and the *Tectosagi*, the middle of the country; so that they made tributary all that part of Asia on this side Mount Taurus. But

[5] Strabo, likewise, says there were three kinds of Galatians: of which two were named, after their leaders, *Trocmi* and *Tolisbogi*, and the third, by the Celtic people, *Tectosages*, (B. xii, p. 566:) and, again, that, whereas there were three nations, one of which, about the city Ancyra, was called *Tectosages*, the others *Trocmi* and *Tolisbogii*, the affinity of these two with the *Tectosages* indicated them also to have emigrated out of Gaul, but from what parts they went he could not say, since people did not, at that time, find either within or without the Alps, or in the Alps themselves, any *Trocmi* or *Tolisbogii* inhabiting: but, he adds, it appears that, by reason of their frequent migrations, they are become extinct, which has likewise happened to many others. (B. iv, p. 187.) The *Tectosages*, he says, approached the Pyrenees, and, in some manner, touched the north part of the Cemmenian mountains, and cultivated a soil rich in gold. It is probable, he adds, that they formerly, in multitude and power, so far excelled, that, a sedition having broken forth, they expelled a great number of their people from home, to which, also, others, from other nations, joined themselves, and that from these were descended those who occupied Phrygia and the extremity of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia: a proof of which were those who in his time were called *Tectosages*. *(Ibi.)*

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they seated themselves in the neighbourhood of the river Halys.[6] In process of time they multiplied so much, and became so formidable, that even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute. Attalus, father of Eumenes, was the first Asiatic prince who refused it; and fortune favoured him in this courageous resolution, contrary to the expectation of all the world. He defeated them in a considerable battle: however, this did not make them renounce their empire over the country. They retained their former power till the war between Antiochus and the Romans.[7].

[6] It is in Phrygia, and divides Asia Minor into eastern and western parts.

[7] Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 16. Do you imagine, (say Manlius, in a harangue to his army,) these Gallo-Greeks resemble their fathers and grandfathers? They were exiles who left their country for want of room, and sailing along the rugged coasts of Illyrium into Pæonia, and then into Thrace, seized this country after fighting with the fiercest nations. (B. xxxviii, C. 17.) According to Pausanias, the Celts marched out of their own dominions the first time, under the command of Cambaules; and proceeding as far as Thrace, had not the boldness to advance beyond it, because they well knew that they were but few in number, and on this account not able to contend with the forces of the Greeks. But when they thought fit to lead a second army beyond their own boundaries, those that had before followed Cambaules, being incited by a desire of

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gain and depredation, of which they had now tasted, collected together a great multitude of foot-soldiers, and of horse a considerable number. After this the commanders divided their army into three parts; and each part was ordered to march into a different country. Cerethrius, therefore, was destined to invade Thrace, and the nation of the Triballi; Brennus and Acichorus led those that marched into Pæonia; and Bolgius was the commander of those that attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians. But, he concludes, as the Celts, at that time, had not the boldness to proceed any further into Greece, they shortly after returned into their own dominions. (B. x, C. 19.)

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CHAP. IV.

Of the government and magistracy of the Celts, their councils, laws, and public assemblies, and of the orders or ranks of society amongst them.

THE sovereignty of the whole of Gaul seems to have been possessed by some particular state,[1] and, that of each state by some particular family.[2]

[1] Among the Helvetians, says Cæsar, by far the most noble and most rich [man] was Orgetorix. He, being induced by desire of rule, formed a confederacy of the nobility and persuaded the city, that they should go out of their borders with all their forces: that it would be very easy, as they excelled all in valour, to possess the dominion of all Gaul. (*G. W.* B. i, C. 2.) Of whole Gaul, he says, there were two factions; of those the Æduans held the sovereignty of one, the Arverni of the other. These, when they had, greatly, contended for the pre-eminence between themselves many years, it was resolved, that, by the Arverni and Sequani, the Germans should be called in by hire, of whom, in his time there were in Gaul to the number of 120,000. (*Ibi*, C. 23.)

[2] The Senonians, according to Cæsar, attempted to kill Cavarinus, whom he had constituted king over them (whose

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There were, frequently, two kings, at a time, of the same state.[3] The supreme magistrate of the

brother, Moritasgus, on Cæsars coming into Gaul and whose ancestors, had obtained the kingdom.) (*G. W.* B. v, C. 45.) Orgetorix persuaded Castic, son of Catamantal, whose father had, many years, held the dominion among the Sequani and by the Roman Senate and people was called a friend, that he might possess the supreme authority in his own name. He, likewise, persuaded Dumnorix, the Æduan, brother of Divitiac, who, in that time, possessed the principality in his own state and was, mightily, acceptable to the people, that he should attempt the same. He proved to them, it was very easy, in fact, to perfect the attempts; therefore, that he himself was about to obtain the empire of his own city: it was not dubious, but the Helvetians were the greatest number of all Gaul and confirmed that he, with his riches and his army, was about to reconcile to them the kingdoms. Induced by this oration, they gave faith and an oath between themselves, and the kingdom being occupied by the three most powerful and strongest people, they hoped themselves to be able to possess the whole of Gaul. (*Ibi*, B. i, C. 3.) Strabo, who says, that most of their republics were governed by the great men, adds, that, anciently, the multitude chose a prince every year and, likewise, a captain-general of war. (B. iv.)

[3] Thus Concolitan and Aneroëst were joint kings of the *Gæsatæ* (Polybius, B. ii, C. 2), Galat and Atès, of the transalpine Gauls (Idem, *ibi*) and Ambiorix and Cativulc, of the Eburones. (Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 29.) The laws, however, of the Æduans, expressly, forbad two of the same family, either to hold the supreme dignity or even to sit together in the senate. (Idem, *ibi*.)

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Æduans, whom they called *vergobret*, was created yearly, and had the power [of] life and death upon his people:[4] but, by the constitution of that state, it was not lawful for him to pass beyond its limits,[5] and the government, at least, amongst the Eburones, was of such a nature as that the people had as much power over the king as he himself had over the people.[6] An attempt to obtain the supreme authority of the Helvetians obliged the offender, according to the custom of their country, to answer the charge in chains, and if he were found guilty, the law condemned him to be burnt alive.[7] It was the custom of the Gauls, to come to their assemblies, completely armed.[8] They had something singular in their

[4] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. i, C. 14. His election, sometimes, occasioned great disputes and threw the whole state into arms. (Idem, *ibi*, B. vii, C. 30.)

[5] Idem, *ibi*, C. 31. [6] Idem, *ibi*, B. v, C. 23.

[7] Idem, *ibi*, B. i, C. 3. This was the case of Orgetorix. On the day appointed for his trial, he, on all sides, assembled his whole family, to the number of 10,000 men and all his clients and debtors, of which he had a great number, thither conducted: by these, lest he should plead his cause, he rescued himself. (Idem, *ibi*). Celtillus, likewise, the father of Vercinghetorix, had presided over all Celtic-Gaul and, for aiming at the sovereignty, been put to death by his countrymen. (Idem, *ibi*, B. vii, C. 4.)

[8] Livy, B. xxi, C. 20. Cæsar, also, mentions the armed

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councils: for, if any one interrupted or disturbed the person speaking, the beadle came to him with a drawn knife and, using threats, ordered him to be silent; and this he did a second and a third time; at length, he cut off from his mantle so much as made the rest useless.[9] Amongst the Celts, he suffered a severer punishment who killed a stranger, than he who killed a citizen: for the first was punished with death, the other with exile.[1] Quickly, was report brought to all the cities of Gaul, for, when a greater and more extraordinary fact happened, they signified it, by outcry, through the fields and provinces: this, others, afterward, received and delivered to the next, as it so happened.[2] This, likewise, was a Gallic custom, that travellers, even against their

council of the Gauls (*G. W.* B. v, C. 56; B. vii, C. 21) and Nicholas of Damascus says, The Celts treat of the affairs of state girded with iron. (Stobæus, p. 470.)

[9] Strabo, B. iv, p. 197.

[1] Nicholas of Damascus. (Stobæus, p. 470.) From Italy, they said, to Celtica and the Celto-Ligurians and the Iberians, there was a way called the Herculean, through which, if a Greek or native travelled, he was watched by the inhabitants, lest he should suffer any injury, for, they paid a fine amongst those from whom the traveller suffered damage. (Aristotle.)

[2] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C. 3.

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will, they would compel to stop and enquire what each of them had heard or knew relating to every affair; and merchants, in their towns, the common people would surround and oblige them to tell what country they had come from and what news they had there known. Moved by these rumours and reports, they often entered upon the most important deliberations: of which it was necessary to repent, at the very point of time; as they would provide uncertain rumours and many would answer [things] feigned at their pleasure.[3] Hence those states which were esteemed to administer their commonwealth the more commodiously, had this ordained in their laws: that, if any one should have received any thing concerning the commonwealth, from the bordering parts, by rumour or report, he should carry it to the magistrate, neither communicate with any other: because, oftentimes, men, rash and unexperienced, to be terrified with false reports and impelled to bad actions and to take counsel of the highest matters, it was known. The Magistrates concealed those things which were seen; and declared, to the multitude, those which they judged to be of use. Concerning

[3] Idem, *ibi*, B. iv, C. 5.

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the commonwealth, unless by the council, it was not granted to be spoken.[4] Upon their festival, or assembly days, they met, in great numbers, in the groves.[5] The king of the Ebùdæ or Hébudes, according to Solinus, had nothing of his own, but all things of all. He was bound to equity by certain laws and, lest avarice should divert him from the truth, learned justice in poverty: inasmuch as he had no property, but was maintained out of the public stock.[6]

In all Gaul, of those men, who were in any rank and honour, were two kinds: for the common people, almost were held in the place of slaves; which dared nothing by themselves and were admitted to no council. Most of them were oppressed either with debt, or the magnitude of tributes, or the injury of the powerful; they devoted themselves into slavery with the nobles: toward them were all those jurisdictions, which are [used] by masters toward slaves. But of these two kinds the one was of the druids, the other of the knights. Those presided in divine things, took care of public and private sacrifices,

[4] Idem, *ibi*, B. vii, C. 40. That which, he says, was, chiefly, innate to that race of men, that it would hold a light hearsay for a matter known by experience.

[5] Florus, B. iii, C. 10. [6] C. 22.

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and interpreted religion:[7] to these a great number of youth ran together, for the sake of discipline: and they were with them in great honour:[8] for, almost, of all controversies, public and private, they determined: and if that which is a crime [were] committed; if a murder [were] done; if there were a controversy touching an inheritance or bounds, they decreed [it]. They appointed rewards and punishments. If any one whether private or public, would not have stood to their decree, they interdicted [him] in the sacrifices. This punishment with them was the most grievous: to those whom, therefore, was an interdict, they were held in the number of the impious and wicked; all shunned them, avoided their passage and speech, lest they should receive something from the contagion of their misfortune: neither to them, seeking [redress], was

[7] This great author had the better opportunity of becoming accurately acquainted with the above order of men, since we learn from Cicero, that his friend Divitiacus, an Æduan, who had been his guest in Rome, was himself a druid. He professed to understand something of natural philosophy; and, partly by auguries, partly by conjecture, foretold future events. (*Of divination*, B. i.)

[8] They taught the most noble persons of the nation many things, secretly and for a long time, in a cave or retired groves. (Pomponius Mela, B. iii, C. 2.)

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justice rendered, nor any office communicated. Over all these druids, however, was one, who had the chief authority among them. This being dead, if any one of the rest excelled in dignity, he succeeded: but if many were equal, he was chosen by the suffrage of the druids; sometimes, even, they contend, concerning the pre-eminence, in arms. In a certain time of the year, in the confines of the Carnutes, which region was reputed the midst of Gaul, they sat down, in a consecrated place.[9] Hither all, on

[9] The modern *pays Chartrain*, between the Seine and the Loire, which, by the way, is very far from being in the middle of Gaul. Its capital was *Autricum*, afterward *Carnotum*, and a bishops see, now *Chartres*; and there is, likewise, not far from it, a city named *Dreux*, conjecturally, from the *druids*. That the Gallic druids resided near the Loire, is proved by an ancient comedy, usually, but falsely, ascribed to Plautus, and, by some, with still greater absurdity, to saint Gildas, the British historiographer, (from his having, in fact, written a *liber querulus*, of a very different nature,) intitled *Aulularia* or *Querolus*; in which the hero of the piece is introduced in conversation with the god *lar*, a tutelary deity of his house, whom he prays to correct his fortune, and raise him to some dignity, in which he may be master of his actions, without being molested. This is the dialogue: "*Que.* If, therefore, thou art able, my household *lar*, cause that I may be private and powerful. *Lar.* Power of what kind dost thou want? *Que.* That it may be lawful for me to plunder those that owe me nothing,

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every side, they who have controversies meet together; and obey their judgments and decrees. This discipline is thought to have been found in

to kill strangers, but neighbours both to plunder and kill. *Lar.* Ha, ha, he! thou seekest robbery, not power. In this manner, I know not, by heaven, how it may be done. However, I have hit upon it. Have what thou wishest; live upon the Loire (*ad* Ligerem *vivito*). *Que.* What then? *Lar.* There, by the law of nations, live men where is no deceit:[1] there the capital sentences of the oak are pronounced, and written on bones: there, also, rustics plead, and private persons decide: there every thing is lawful. If thou wert rich, thou shouldst be called *Patus*; so our Greek speaks. O woods! O solitudes! who hath called you free? Much greater things there are, which we shall conceal: in the mean time, this is sufficient. *Que.* Neither am I rich, nor do I desire to use the oak: I will have nothing to do with these silvestrian laws."

They appear, likewise, to have had the election of the supreme annual Magistrate of each state (Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C. 31); over whom, they retained so great a power, that he was unable to do any thing without them, not even to assemble his council: so that, in fact, it was the druids who reigned, and the kings, although seated upon thrones of gold, inhabiting superb mansions, and being sumptuously entertained, were the ministers and slaves of this order. (Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 49.)

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[1] "*Ubi nullum est* præstigium;" peradventure, where nothing is forbidden or unlawful. Du Cange explains the word *præstigium*, which does not occur in good dictionaries, *protectio, prætextum, velamentum, præpedimentum.*

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Britain, and thence translated into Gaul: and, then, they who were desirous to know that matter more diligently, for the most part, went thither, for the sake of learning. The druids accustomed [themselves] to be wanting to war: neither paid they tributes together with the rest; they enjoyed exemption of military service, and immunity of all things. Excited by such great rewards, and by their own will, many resorted together into that discipline; and were sent by their parents and relations. They are said to have learned by heart a great number of verses. Therefore, some remained twenty years in that discipline. Neither did they think it to be lawful, to commit them to letters; when in, almost, all other public matters, and private affairs, they used Greek letters. They appear to have instituted this for two reasons; because they neither willed their discipline to be brought among the common people; nor those who learned, confiding in letters, the less to apply [their mind] to the memory: which, for the most part, happens to many, that, by the guard of letters, they remit their diligence in learning and their memory. In the first place, they wish to persuade this: souls not to perish, but from some, after death, to pass over to others; and by

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this they think [men] chiefly to be excited to valour, the fear of death being neglected. Many things, beside, of the stars and their motion, of the magnitude of the world and of countries, of the nature of things, of the force and power of the immortal gods, they disputed, and delivered to their youth.[2]

[2] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 13. "Among them [the Celts or Gauls] they have poets, that sing melodious songs, whom they call *bards*, who to their musical instruments, not unlike harps, (or lyres), chant forth the praises of some, and the dispraises of others. There are, likewise, among them philosophers and divines, whom they call *Saronidæ* [i. e. *Druids*; of *saronides*, old oaks, of which the bark is cracked and twisted, as *Druid* of *Drus*, an oak, according to Pliny, but, more probably, from a similar word in their own language. They were, likewise, from their devotion to the gods, it would seem, called *Semnothei*: Dio, Laertius, Suidas], and are held in great veneration and esteem. Prophets, likewise, they have, whom they highly honour, who foretel future events, by viewing the entrails of the sacrifices; and to these soothsayers all the people are very observant. According to Diogenes Laertius, they who said that the barbarians were the authors of philosophy, expounded also the manners and institutes of each: that the Gimnosophists and Druids, obscurely and by sentences, philosophised that the gods were to be worshipped, that nothing of evil was to be done, and that fortitude was to be exercised. These druids and bards are observed and obeyed not only in times of peace, but war also, both by friends and enemies." Many times these philosophers and poets stepping in between two armies

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The other order of men was the nobles, whose whole study and occupation was war. Before

when they are just ready to engage near at hand, with their swords drawn, and spears presented one against another, have pacified them, as if some wild beasts had been tamed by enchantments. Diodo. B. v, C. 2. "Amongst all almost," says Strabo, "there are three kinds of men, which are held in singular honour; bards, prophets, *(vates)*, and druids: of these, the bards sing hymns and are poets: the prophets sacrifice and contemplate the nature of things: the druids, beside this philosophy, discuss morals. Of these, justice is the chief sentiment of all: and, therefore, both public and private judgments are committed to them, and sometimes, the causes of war being debated, they have appeased those already about to engage in battle: for the most part judgments concerning murder are committed to them: and, when there is great abundance of these, they suppose the fertility of the ground will likewise follow. (B. 4.) The post Lucan apostrophises the bards in the following elegant verses:

"*Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas*
Laudibus," *&c.* (L. i, v. 447.)

You too, ye bards! whom sacred raptures fire,
To chant your heroes to your countrys lyre;
Who consecrate, in your immortal strain,
Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain,
Securely now the tuneful task renew,
And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue.
The druids now, while arms are heard no more,
Old mysteries and barb'rous rites restore:
A tribe who singular religion love,
And haunt the lonely coverts of the grove.

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Cæsars arrival in Gaul, they were almost every year at war, either offensive or defensive; and they

To these, and these of all mankind alone,
The gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown.
If dying mortals doom they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night:
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below:
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find.
Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
And, like a line, death but divides the space,
A stop which can but for a moment last,
A point between the future and the past.
Thrice happy they, beneath the northern skies,
Who that worst fear, the fear of death despise;
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn,
To spare that life which must so soon return."

As the men of Massilia, according to Ammian, were grown by little and little to civility, the studies of laudable sciences, begun by the bards, *eubages* (or *euhages*), and druids, mightily flourished here, and verily the bards sung unto the sweet music of the harp, the valourous deeds of worthy men, composed in heroic verse. But the *eubages* (or *euhages*), searching into the highest altitudes of natures work, endeavoured to lay open, and declare, the same. Among these the druids, of a higher wit and conceit, as the authority of Pythagoras decreed, being tied unto societies and fellowships, were addicted wholly unto ques-

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judged of the power and quality of their nobles by his vassals, and the number of men he kept in

tions of deep and hidden points, and they despising all human things, pronounced that mens souls were immortal. (B. xv. C. 9.) Diogenes Laertius, in the proem to his lives of the philosophers, cites Aristotle and Sotion, as having asserted that (amongst others) with the Celts or Gauls those who were called Druids and Semnothei were the authors of philosophy. Alexander Polyhistor, in his book of *Pythagoric symbols*, maintained that Pythagoras had been an auditor of the Gauls (*i. e.* druids,) as well as of the brachmans. (Clemens Alexan. *Stromata*, B. i.) Jamblichus, also, in his life of this philosopher, mentions it as a report that he had learned some things out of those mysteries which the Celts and Iberians used in common. (C. 28.) The author of *La religion des Gaulois*, has given engraved figures of two druids, from a bas-relief at Autun: one, crowned with oak, bears a species of sceptre, in one hand; elevating his tunic with the other: his companion holds a sort of crescent. (I, 212.) They are, in fact, from Montfaucon, (P. 2, B. v, C. 6), who conjectures the former to be a sacrificer, and, perhaps, the prince of the druids, as the sceptre seems to denote. According to Pliny, it was no longer ago than the time of Tiberius Cæsar, that the druids were by his authority put down (B. xxx, C. 1); and Suetonius, in the life of Claudius, asserts that the religion of the druids in Gaul, being of horrid barbarity, and only forbidden to the citizens under Augustus, was by him utterly abolished. (C. 25.) Tacitus, however, speaks of them as still existing in the reign of Vitellius, whose death, he says, being divulged throughout Gaul, the druids, actuated by an impulse altogether superfluous and idle, chanted vain oracles, that to the nations beyond the Alps, the rule and controlment

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pay: for these were the only marks of grandeur they made any account of.[3]

of human kind were thus divinely portended. (*History*, B. iv.) There were, also, in still later times, female druids. Among the presages, which, according to Lampridius, foretold the death of the emperor Alexander Severus, a female druid, as he was setting out on a certain expedition, cried to him, in the Gallic tongue, "Thou may'st march, but thou can'st neither hope for victory, nor trust to thy soldiers." See also, Vopiscus, in Aurelian ("*Verconius Herennianus*," &c.) and, again, in Numerian ("*Quum Diocletianus apud Tungros in Gallia*," &c.) This is, likewise, confirmed by an inscription found at Metz, and published by Gruter (p. 62, N. 19):

SILVANO
SACR
ET. NYMPHIS. LOCI
APETE DRUS
ANTISTITA
SOMNO. MONITA.

Ausonius, a christian poet of the fourth century, mentions the druids:

"*Tu* Bajocassis, *stirpe* Druidarum satus."

The Bajocassians were a people of Gaul.

[3] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 14. He elsewhere observes that it was usual in Gaul, for such as were most powerful in their several states, and had men and money at command, to exercise a kind of sovereignty over their fellow-subjects. (B. ii, C. 1). Dumnorix, the Æduan, constantly kept a great number of horsemen in pay, who attended him wherever he went. (B. i, C. 15.) That which engaged their greatest care, says Poly-

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A spirit of faction prevailed throughout Gaul, in Cæsars time, and that not only in their several states, districts, and villages, but almost in every private family. The men of greatest esteem and consideration among them were commonly at the head of those factions, and gave what turn they thought proper to all public deliberations and counsels. This custom was of long standing, and seemed designed to secure those of lower rank from the oppression of the powerful: for the leaders always took care to protect those of their party, otherwise they would soon have lost all their authority. This equally obtained, through the whole continent of Gaul, the provinces being in general divided into two factions.[4]

Persons of consequence, among the Gauls, had bodies of sworn friends, who, in the language of the country, were called *soldurii*. Their condition and manner of life was this: to live in a perfect community of goods with those to whom

bius, speaking of the Cis-alpine Gauls, was to procure a numerous train of followers, all ready to support their interests, and execute their commands. For, every one among them was strong and formidable in proportion only to the number of these dependants. (B. ii, C. 2.) According to Cæsar, the clients of the Gauls could not without infamy abandon their patrons, even in the greatest extremities of fortune (B. vii, C. 38).

[4] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 11.

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they had engaged themselves in friendship; if any misfortune befel them, to share in it, or make away with themselves: nor was there a single instance of any one upon record, who, upon the death of him to whom he had vowed a friendship, refused to submit to the same fate.[5]

The institution of Druids, as already mentioned, was supposed to have come originally from Britain; but the British druids are never mentioned by Cæsar. They sat down at a certain time of the year, in the borders of Britain, in a consecrated grove of the island Mona (now Anglesey); whither all, from every quarter, among whom was controversy, came together, and acquiesced in their judgments and decrees.[6] During the invasion of this island by Suetonius Paulinus, round the British host appeared their priests the

[5] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iii, C. 23. Adiatomus (or Adcantuanus) who commanded in chief in the capital of the Aquitains, had a body of six hundred such friends, with whom he endeavoured to escape. See also Athenæus, B. vi, where they are called *Siloduni*.

[6] Richard of Cirencester, B. i, C. 4, § 13. "Druidism," according to Mr. Pinkerton, "was palpably Phœnician, and was taught by the Phœnicians to the inhabitants of Cornwall, where they traded for tin." (*Enquiry*, I, 17): whereas no one writer of any antiquity ever mentions either that the Phœnicians had Druids, or that they traded to *Cornwall* for tin.

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druids, with their hands lifted up to heaven, uttering bitter and direful imprecations; and from the strangeness of the spectacle, struck the spirit of the Roman soldiers with great dismay; insomuch that, as if all their limbs had been benumbed, they stood motionless, with their bodies exposed, like marks, to wounds and darts, till, by the repeated exhortations of the general, as well as by mutual incitements from one another, they were at last roused to shake off the scandalous terror inspired by a band of raving women, and fanatic priests; and thus, advancing their ensigns, they discomfited all that resisted, and involved them in their own fires. A garrison was afterward established over the vanquished, and the groves cut down by them dedicated to detestable superstitions; for there they sacrificed captives: and, in order to discover the will of the gods, consulted the entrails of men; practices of cruelty by them accounted holy.[7]

[7] Tacitus, *Annals*, B. xiv. Modern writers, particularly Toland, Stukeley,[8] and Borlase, maintain that *Stone-henge*, on Salisbury plain, and, in short, every other circle of stones

[8] This absurd author is regarded by his countrymen as the first of antiquaries; all his folios and quartos, in none of which is scarcely one word of truth or common sense, fetch immense prices.

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(monuments, without doubt, of vast antiquity), are druidical temples, which, like many other unauthorised conjectures, is now become a received opinion. In fact, however, no countenance is afforded to this fanciful system by any ancient writer. That the Druids frequented *groves* we have ample testimony; but it no where appears that they ever performed their mysterious rites on *stone-altars*, in extensive plains, or on the tops of hills. Besides, similar monuments are found in countries where the druidical religion never prevailed.

It is also pretended that there were druids in Ireland, but no ancient authority can be produced for the assertion. Toland's *specimen* is, certainly, a very ingenious, but, at the same time, a very romantic, performance. He, probably, flattered himself that he should be able to support his hypothesis by the MSS he purposed to go in search of.

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CHAP. V.

Of the population and revenues of the Celts.

GAUL was inhabited by several nations, not all alike populous. The greatest of them contained two hundred thousand men, the least but fifty thousand.

Cæsar, enquiring of the ambassadors from the Rhemi, (who were next to Gaul from the Belgians,) What states, and how many in arms there were, and what they were able to do in battle, thus found, The Belgians, for the most part, to be sprung from the Germans; and, in old time, led across the Rhine, by reason of the fertility of the place, there to have sitten down; and the Gauls, who inhabited those places, to have driven out; and to be the only [people] who, in the memory of our fathers, all Gaul being troubled, had prohibited the Teutons (Germans) and Cimbrians to enter within their confines: from which thing done, as of those things, in memory, to themselves [is] great authority: and assumed great spirits in warfare.

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Of the number of them, the Rhemi said they had explored all things; therefore, because conjoined by kindred and affinity, every one knew how great a multitude was promised, in the common council of the Belgians, to battle. Most of all among them, the Bellovaci, both in valour and in authority, and in the number of men, were of power: these were able to procure a hundred thousand armed men; promised out of that number sixty thousand chosen troops; and desired for themselves the empire of the whole war. The Suessiones who were their neighbours, possessed the most spacious and fertile lands: among them had been king, even in Cæsars memory, Divitiac, the most powerful of all Gaul; who, when he had obtained the empire of great part of these regions, then also [obtained those] of Britain: now was Galba king: to him, for his justice and prudence, the conclusion of the whole war was, with the will of all, offered; towns they have in number twelve; and promised fifty thousand armed men: as many the Nervians, who had greatly talked among themselves, and were a very long way off: the Atrebates, fifteen thousand: the Ambiani, ten thousand: the Morini, twenty-five thousand: the Menapii, nine thousand: the Caletes, ten thousand: the Velo-

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casses and Veromandui, as many: the Atuatici, twenty-nine thousand: the Condrusi, Eburones, Ceræsi, Pænani, who were called by one name, Germans, were estimated at forty thousand.[9]

While these things were carried on at Alesia, not all the Gauls, in a council proclaimed of the princes, who were able to bear arms (as Vercingetorix judged) were ordained to be convoked, but a certain number to be commanded from every state; lest, with so great a confused multitude, they might not be able to regulate or discern their own, nor have a mean of victualling. They commanded from the Æduans, and their clients, the Segusians, the Ambivarets, the Aulerci Brannovices, the Brannovii, thirty-five thousand; an equal number from the Arverni; the Eleutheri Cadurci, Gabali, Velauni, being adjoined, who were accustomed to be under the empire of

[9] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. ii, C. 3. A population of above 400,000 fighting men; whereas Strabo says, The Belgians, before Cæsars time, had no more than 30,000 men able to bear arms (B. iv). The Nervians, in the subsequent wars, were reduced from 60,000 fighting men to 500. (*G. W.* B. ii, C. 28.) King Agrippa, in a speech to the Jews, said the Gauls "have no fewer than three hundred and five [or fifteen] nations among them," and "are kept in servitude by twelve hundred [Roman] soldiers; which are hardly so many as are their cities." (Josephus *War*, II, 16, 3.)

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the Arverni: from the Senones, Sequani, Bituriges, Xantones, Rutheni, and Carnutes, twelve thousand, from the Bellovaci, ten: as much from the Lemovices: thirty-two thousand from the Pictones, and the Turones, and the Parisii, and the Eleutheri-Suessiones: from the Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorii, Nervii, Morini, Nitiobriges, thirty-five thousand: from the Aulerci Cenomani, five thousand: from the Atrebates, four thousand: from the Bellocassi, Lexovii, Aulerci-Eburovices, nine thousand; from the Rauraci and Boii, 'thirty' thousand: from the universal states, which touched the ocean, and who by their custom are called Armoricans; (who were in number Curiosolites, Rhedones, Caletes, Osismii, Lemovices, Veneti, and Unelli;) six thousand [each]: of these, the Bellovaci did not complete their number; because they said they were about to wage war in their own name and will with the Romans, neither were they ready to pay obedience to any government: but requested by Comius, for his friendship they sent two thousand.[1] So great was the unanimity of universal Gaul for preserving their liberty, and recovering their pristine praise of war, that neither by benefits, nor the memory of friendship,

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C. 69.

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were they moved; and all, both in mind and power, inclined into that war; having brought together eight thousand horse, and about two hundred and forty thousand foot. These were mustered in the confines of the Æduans, and the number was increased.[2]

The last and greatest of all the wars the Romans had against the Gauls was under Cæsar; for, in the ten years that he commanded in Gaul, he defeated four millions of men; of which one million were taken prisoners, and as many slain; he reduced under his obedience four hundred nations, and eight hundred cities, reckoning as well those which, being revolted, he forced to return to their duty, as those he conquered.[3]

The customs and other public revenues of the Gallic states were farmed to the best bidder.[4]

They had the reputation of affluence. "Are you richer than the Gauls?" demands Agrippa of the Jews.[5] In Britain, the multitude of inhabitants was immense.[6]

[2] *Ibi*, C. 70.

[3] Appian, *Of the Celtic Wars*. Having begun his war with the Helvetians and Tigurians, he put two hundred thousand of them to the rout. (Idem, *ibi.*)

[4] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. i, C. 15. Dumnorix had possessed them for several years, at a low price; no one daring to bid against him. [5] Josephus. [6] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 10.

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The wealth of the Cisalpine Gauls consisted in gold and cattle; because these alone were at all times most easily removed from place to place.[7]

[7] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.

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CHAP. VI.

Of the religion of the Celts.

THE whole nation of the Gauls was extremely addicted to superstition: whence, in threatening distempers, and the imminent dangers of war, they made no scruple to sacrifice men, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices; in which they made use of the ministry of the druids: for it was a prevalent opinion among them, that nothing but the life of a man could atone for the life of a man; insomuch, that they had established even public sacrifices of that kind. Some prepared huge colossuses of osier twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expired amidst the flames. They preferred, for victims, such as had been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes; believing them the most acceptable to the gods: but, when real criminals were wanting, the innocent were often made to suffer.[1]

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 15. "Yea, and other immolations of men are talked of," according to Strabo: "for some," he says, "they shot with sacred arrows, or hung upon crosses;

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According to their natural cruelty, they were as impious in the worship of their gods; for their malefactors, after having been kept close prisoners five years together,[2] they impaled upon stakes, in honour to the gods, and then,

and, a colossus being made of rushes, fastened with wood, sheep, and beasts of every kind, and men, they burned together." (B. iv, p. 195.) Saint Foix, in his *Historical essays upon Paris*, printed there in 1766 (volume v, p. 31) says, "There are still some towns in the kingdom where the mayor and sheriffs cause to be put into a basket one or two dozen of cats, and burn them in the bone-fire of the eve of St. John. This barbarous custom," he adds, "of which I do not know the origin, subsisted even in Paris, and was only abolished there at the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV." The cats of the modern French seem to have been substituted for the human victims of the Gauls, their predecessors.

[2] Petronius relates that, whenever the Massilians were visited with the pestilence, some one or other of the poorest of the people, would offer himself a voluntary sacrifice, for the sake of being delicately fed a whole year, at the public charge; after which, wreathed with vervain, and dressed in holy garments, he was led about the city, and, being loaded with imprecations that all the sins of the public might be punished in him, was thrown down a precipice. (*Satire*, at the end.) He is supposed to mean the Gauls, in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, as it is utterly improbable that any Greek nation would have exercised such barbarous cruelty. See also Servius, upon Virgils Æneid, B. iii, V. 58; and *Religion des Gaulois*, I, 88. This was the *scape-goat* of the Hebrews.

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with many other victims, upon a vast pile of wood, they offered them up as a burnt-sacrifice to their deities. In like manner they used their captives also, as sacrifices to the gods. Some of them cut the throats of, burned, or otherwise destroyed, both men and beasts, which they had taken in time of war.[3]

[3] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. The general of the Gauls, according to the same author, being returned from the pursuit of the enemy, gathered the captives together, and committed a most horrid piece of wickedness; for he picked out the choicest and strongest young men amongst them, and sacrificed them to the gods, as if the immortal deities were pleased with such sacrifices. The rest he shot to death with darts. (B. xxvi, frag.) The Galatians, if they had fought the enemy with particular success, were wont to sacrifice the prisoners to their gods. (Athenæus, B. 4; from Sopater the Paphian.) "Let the Asiatic states," says Manlius, "inform you how that savage people would not suffer them to ransom their prisoners: how oft they have heard of their sacrificing their children to their gods." (Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 47.) See also Cicero, *Oration for Fonteius;* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, B. i, C. 38; Mela, B. iii, C. 2; Pliny, B. vii, C. 2; Solinus, C. 21; Eusebius, *of the evangelical preparation*, B. iv, C. 7. The Romans could reprobate the superstitions of other nations, though apparently insensible of their own; which, from the testimony of their proper historians, were exceeded in number, absurdity, and abomination, by no people in the world; and were so much the less excusable, as they were, in other respects, more enlightened. Livy, in particular, superabounds with instances of the pitiful

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When the prophets, or soothsayers, of the Gauls, who foretold future events by viewing

superstition, and consequential inhumanity, of his countrymen. Were it not, indeed, for this consequence, most of his prodigies would be too ridiculous for enumeration: such as, chickens with three feet, pigs with human heads, showers of blood, stones, earth, and milk, speaking oxen, (when, according to Pliny, B. viii, C. 45) the senate was held in the open air, black wool growing out of the earth, fishes starting up in the furrows, a bull leaping a brazen cow, a girl changing her sex (exposed on a desert island), hermaphrodites, and other monsters so called (uniformly thrown into the sea), two tame oxen walking up a ladder, or stair-case, to the top of a house (ordered, by the soothsayers, to be burned alive, and their ashes thrown into the Tiber!), and many more such fooleries: the very existence of the state being, by these masters of the world, thought to depend upon the appetite of a few chickens! "When the old Romans," says Hume, "were attacked with a pestilence, they never ascribed their sufferings to their vices, or dreamed of repentance and amendment. They never thought that they were the general robbers of the world, and reduced opulent nations to want and beggary. They only created a dictator, in order to drive a nail into a door; and, by that means, they thought that they had sufficiently appeased the incensed deity." (*Natural history of religion*, § 14.) Even human sacrifices, which, according to Macrobius, in the early ages of the republic, had been offered annually, were not, as we learn from Pliny, abolished in Rome till 97 years B. C. *A. U.* C. 657. (B. xxx, C. 1.) Among the extraordinary sacrifices offered after the battle of Cannæ, a male and female Gaul, according to Livy, and a Grecian man and woman, were buried alive in a vault lined with stone, in the Ox-market, a place formerly pol-

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the entrails of the sacrifices,[4] had to consult of some great and weighty matter, they observed a most strange and incredible custom; for they sacrificed a man, striking him with a sword near

luted with human sacrifices, but not, he adds, after the Roman rites (B. xxii, C. 57): a pretty distinction truly! Plutarch after describing an instance of a similar sacrifice, adds, "These sacrifices" (of which, by the way, Pliny himself speaks as an eye-witness) "gave rise to certain *private* and *mysterious* ceremonies, which *still* continue to be annually performed;" and which were, doubtless, of a similar nature. Lactantius, who flourished at the commencement of the fourth century, says that Jupiter Latialis was then worshipped with human blood. (*Divine institutions*, B. i, C. 21). His picture, as we learn from Minucius Felix, was besmeared with blood. "Even at this day," says he, "downright murder is committed in the rites of Jupiter Latialis." "Even in Rome," says Tertullian, "there resides a god that delights to be regaled with human sacrifices: even in Rome Bellonas priests regale all their votaries with human blood." It would seem, from Porphyry (*Treatise of abstinence*, B. ii), that this god was universally so worshipped: "Even at this day," says he, "who knows not that, toward Megalopolis, in the feast of Jupiter Latiarius, there is a man immolated?" Dio records an instance of two men being slain, with the usual solemnities, in the Campus Martius, so late as the time of Julius Cæsar (B. xliii, C. 24); at whose altar, on the ides of March, Augustus ordered no less than four hundred senators and nobles, who had sided with L. Antonius, to be sacrificed as victims (B. xlviii, C. 14.) Sextus Pompeius threw into the sea not only horses, but also men alive, as a sacrifice to Neptune. (*Ibi.* C. 48.)

[4] Another superstition of the Romans.

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the diaphragm, across his breast; who being thus slain, and falling down, they judged of the event from the manner of his fall, the convulsion of his members, and the flux of blood: and this had gained among them, by long and ancient usage, a firm credit and belief.[5] The druids

[5] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. Strabo, B. iv, p. 195. The Gauls of Gallogrecia, preparing for battle against Antigonus, killed sacrifices to take the omens of the fight; by the entrails of which, as great slaughter, and the destruction of them all, were signified, being put not in fear, but in a fury, and hoping that the threats of the gods might be averted by the slaughter of their kindred, they killed their wives and children, beginning the auspices of the war with parricide. So great a madness had seized their cruel minds, that they did not spare the age which enemies would have spared, and carried on a destructive war with their children, and childrens mothers, for whom wars use to be undertaken. Wherefore, as if they had redeemed life, and victory, by their wickedness, they marched, bloody as they were with the fresh slaughter of their relations, to battle, with no better event than omen. For the furies, the avengers of parricide, surrounded them as they were fighting, before the enemy; and the ghosts of their slain relations appearing before their eyes, they were all cut off with an entire destruction. (Justin, B. xxvi, C. 2.) Brennus, previous to the battle of Thermopylæ, neither employing any Grecian prophet, nor performing any of the sacred ceremonies of their own country, Pausanias doubts whether the Gauls knew any thing of the divining art (B. x, C. 22): a doubt for which we too plainly perceive there was no foundation. Indeed, Justin expressly

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were always present at the sacrifices;[6] it not being lawful to offer any sacrifice without a philosopher; for they held that by these, as men acquainted with the nature of the gods, they ought to present their thank-offerings, and by these ambassadors to desire such things as were good for them.[7]

Mercury was the chief deity with the Gauls: of him they had many images; accounted him the inventor of all arts; their guide and conductor in their journies; and the patron of merchandise and gain. Next to him were Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva. Their notions in regard to them were pretty much the same with those of other nations. Apollo was their god of physic; Minerva, of works and manufactures; Jove held the empire of heaven; and Mars presided in war.[8] To this last, when

says that they were skilled in the science of augury above all other people. (B. xxiv, C. 4.)

[6] Strabo, B. iv, p. 195. [7] Diodo. B. v, C. 2.

[8] This can only be understood to mean that the deities of the Gauls resembled those gods, in their images or attributes; not that they were actually so denominated. Either the superstition or the vanity as well of the Greeks as of the Romans seems to have persuaded them not only of the omnipresence of their peculiar deities, but that they were acknowledged by all other nations: in which respect Xenophon, in particular, has grossly

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they resolved upon a battle, they commonly

offended, throughout his *Cyropædia*. "The Greek and Roman travellers and conquerors," says Hume, "without much difficulty, found their own deities every where; and said, This is Mercury, that Venus; this Mars, that Neptune; by whatever title the strange gods might be denominated." (*Natural history of religion*, § 5.) Maximus Tyrius, indeed, says that the Celts worshipped god, and that the figure of Jupiter, among them, was a high oak. (*Dis.* 8, § 18.) Minucius Felix, likewise, observes, that the Gauls worshipped Mercury. Diodorus, too, informs us, that the Celts, inhabiting near the ocean, adored Castor and Pollux, above all the rest of the gods; there being an ancient tradition among them, that these gods appeared and came to them out of the ocean (B. iv, C. 4.) We are, fortunately, supplied, by Lucan, with the real names of certain of the Celtic divinities:

> "Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro,
> *Teutates, &c.* (L. i, v. 39.)
> "And you where *Hesus'* horrid altar stands,
> Where dire *Teutates* human blood demands;
> Where *Taranis* by wretches is obey'd,
> And vies in slaughter with the Scythian maid."

Of these, *Hesus* is thought to be the same with, or, more properly speaking to have borne a strong resemblance to, Mars, *Teutates*, Mercury, and *Taranis*, Jupiter. A figure of *Hesus*, or *Esus*, in bas-relief, is inserted in Montfaucons *Antiquités* (B. v, C. 4.) He is half naked, and seems to have cut down a tree that is fallen, with an ax or bill. The *Scythian maid* is Diana, to whom the Tauri, or Tauro-Scythæ, who inhabited the Cimmerian Bosphorus, or Taurica Chersonesus, immolated strangers, and persons driven or shipwrecked upon their coast. See

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devoted the spoil.[9] If they proved victorious, they

Eusebius, *Of the evangelical preparation*, B. iv, C. 7; Cyril against Julian, B. iv; and Lactantius, *Divine Institutions*, B. i, C. 21. These sacrifices are the subject of a pathetic tragedy by Euripides, of which we have in English two excellent translations. Herodotus, however, says, that, according to the people of Tauris, the demon they worshipped was Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon (the heroine of the above tragedy): a notion highly improbable. "That which they call the grove of Diana," says Strabo, "is on the left hand of the [Appian] way which leads to Aricia [not far from Rome]: now it is reported that rites similar to those of Diana of Tauris were here practised; for both a barbaric and Scythian custom prevails at that temple: for a fugitive is there constituted priest, who shall have killed the former priest with his own hand," (B. v, p. 239). Lactantius observes that the Gauls gratified *Esus* and *Teutates* with human blood (*Divine institutions*, B. iv, C. 21); and both Tertullian and Minucius Felix assert that these barbarous rites were practised by the Gauls to *Mercury*, even in their time. Now, that *Mercury* and *Teutates* mean one and the same god, is evident from Livy, who observes that "Near New-Carthage, in Spain, was a mount called *Mercurius Teutates*," (B. xxvi, C. 44). This same god, also, is thought to have been worshipped as well by the Phœnicians, under the name of *Taautus*, as by the Ægyptians, under that of *Thoth*. See Huets *History of the commerce of the ancients*, cc. 7, 8, 47. He is, likewise, said to have been adored by the Germans, under the name of *Theuth*, whence they were called *Teutones*, (*ibi.* C. 41): but this requires authority. Tacitus, indeed, relates that, of all the gods, *Mercury* was he whom they worshipped most: but he is sufficiently distinguished from *Tuisto*,

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offered up all the cattle taken, and set apart the

a god sprung from the earth, whom they celebrated in old songs (their only history) as the father and founder of the nation. In Hays translation of Livy (servilely copied by one Baker) this mount is merely called "Mercurys hill;" the learned gentlemen not knowing what to make of *Teutates*. According to Arrian it was a custom with some of the Celts to sacrifice once a year to Diana. (*Of hunting*, p. 222). Plutarch tells us that the Galatians, or Asiatic Gauls, worshipped, chiefly, the goddess Diana, (*Of the virtues of women*, Ex. 20: a notable instance of the chastity and fidelity of the Gallic matrons); and so, it is thought, did those of Europe. She came, afterward, to be taken for a nocturnal demon, delighting in mischief. See *Religion des Gaulois*, II, 63. Le Beuf, also, has given an engraving and account of a small statue, found near Auxerre, supposed to be that of the Gallic Diana. See *Recueil*, &c. I, 280. It is, at the same time, sufficiently probable, that the Gauls, after their subjugation, might adopt the Roman deities, even though, in other respects, attached to their national worship. Of the "Gallic Hercules," a curious account is given by Lucian. "The Gauls," he says, "in their country language call him *Ogmius*. But they represent the picture of this god in a very unusual manner. With them he is a decrepid old man, bald before, his beard extremely grey, as are the few other hairs he has remaining. His skin is wrinkled, sun-burnt, and of such a swarthy hue as that of old mariners. . . . But I have not yet told what is most odd and strange, for this old Hercules draws after him a vast multitude of men, all tied by their ears. The cords by which he does this are small fine chains, artificially made of gold and electrum, like to most beautiful bracelets: and though the men are drawn by such slender bonds, yet none

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rest of the plunder in a place appointed for that

of them think of breaking loose; ... but they gladly and cheerfully follow. . . The painter finding no place where to fix the extreme links of the chains, the right hand being occupied with a club, and the left with a bow, he made a hole in the tip of the gods tongue (who turns smiling toward those he leads) and painted them as drawn from thence. I looked upon these things a great while . . . But a certain Gaul who stood by, not ignorant of our affairs, as he shewed by speaking Greek in perfection (being one of the philosophers, I suppose, of that nation) said, I will explain to you, O stranger, the enigma of this picture . . . We Gauls do not suppose, as you Greeks, that *Mercury* is *speech* or eloquence; but we attribute it to *Hercules*, because he is far superior in strength. Do not wonder that he is represented as an old man; for *speech* alone loves to shew its utmost vigour in old age if your own poets speak true . . .And finally, as for us, we are of opinion that *Hercules* accomplished all his achievements by *speech*; and, that having been a wise man, he conquered mostly by persuasion: we think his arrows were keen reasons, easily shot, quick, and penetrating the souls of men; whence you have, among you, the expression of *winged words*." "Thus," he says, "spoke the Gaul." It is, however, possible, after all, that this account may be nothing more than an ingenious fiction of the witty philosopher, who (though reported, in his youth, to have taught rhetoric in Gaul) is supported by no other authority. With respect to the phrase of *the Gallic Hercules*, it was a title assumed by the usurper Posthumus, upon the reverse of whose coins appears a figure of the god. The goddess *Isis* is reckoned to have been the tutelar deity of the Parisians, when in the state of Paganism. The idol which they had consecrated to her was still subsisting,

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purpose: and it was common, in many provinces

and in good condition, in the abbey of St. Germain des prez, at the beginning of the sixteenth century; but was taken away, in 1514, by order of William Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, and abbot of St. Germain, who put up, in the room of it, a red cross. As for this idol, her statue, which was tall and erect, rough, and discoloured with age, was placed against the wall, on the north side, where the crucifix of the church stands; and was naked, except some drapery in a certain place or two. See *Religion des Gaulois*, II, 136. The Christian idol, it is supposed has lately shared the fate of its heathen predecessor. The latter, however, might belong to the religion of the Pagan Franks, converted in 496, and not to that of the Celtic Gauls. The Aquileians worshipped, with superlative devotion, a god whom they called *Belis*, and would have to be the same with Apollo. See Herodian, B. viii. Julius Capitolinus calls him *Bellenus*; and there is an inscription extant, APOLLINI BELENO, and another, BELLINO. *Religion des Gaulois* I, 379, 381. Tertullian, who calls him *Belenus*, says he was also worshipped by the Norici (*Apo.* C. 24.) Now, it is certain that some Celtic nations, the Irish for instance, and highland Scots, are known to have adored a god *Bel*, who seems to be the same with the sun: and if, as Dom Martin contends, the *B* and *M* are a frequent and familiar conversion, the English term *Mel*, for the conclusion of harvest, which used to be attended by several superstitious ceremonies, may refer to the same deity. See Baxters Glossary, *voce* Bel, Tolands *History of the druids* (Works, I, 67); Martins *Description of the western islands of Scotland*, p. 105; Pennants *Tour in Scotland*, 1769, p. 110; and 1772, Part II, p. 47, and *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, II, 66, and III, 370. St. Augstin mentions certain demons, which the Gauls called *Dusii*, and which he compares,

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to see these monuments of offerings piled up in

for impudicity, to the Silvans, the Pans, and the Fauns. They were properly *incubi*; to whom entire forests were consecrated, or supposed to belong. (*Of the city of god*, B. xv, C. 23; *Religion des Gaulois*, II, 189, 190.) Lucan has given a beautiful description of a consecrated grove of the Gauls in the neighbourhood of Marseilles:

" Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo, &c.
(L. iii, V. 399).

" Not far away for ages past had stood
An old, inviolated sacred wood;
Whose gloomy boughs, thick interwoven, made
A chilly, cheerless, everlasting shade:
There, not the rustic gods, nor satyrs sport,
Nor fawns and sylvans with the nymphs resort;
But barb'rous priests some dreadful power adore,
And lustrate every tree with human gore.
If mysteries in times of old received,
And pious ancientry may be believed,
There nor the feather'd songster builds her nest,
Nor lonely dens conceal the savage beast:
There no tempestuous winds presume to fly,
Ev'n light'nings glance aloof, and shoot obliquely by.
No wanton breezes toss the dancing leaves,
But shiv'ring horror in the branches heaves.
Black springs with pitchy streams divide the ground,
And bubbl'ing tumble with a sullen sound.
Old images of forms misshapen stand,
Rude, and unknowing of the artists hand;
With hoary filth begrimed, each ghastly head
Strikes the astonish'd gazers soul with dread.

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consecrated places. Nay, it rarely happened

No gods, who long in common shapes appear'd,
Were e'er with such religious awe rever'd;
But zealous crouds in ignorance adore,
And still, the less they know, they fear the more.
Oft (as fame tells) the earth, in sounds of woe,
Is heard to groan from hollow depths below;
The baleful yew, though dead, has oft been seen,
To rise from earth, and spring with dusky green;
With spark'ling flames the trees unburning shine,
And round their boles prodigious serpents twine.
The pious worshippers approach not near,
But shun their gods, and kneel with distant fear:
The priest himself, when, or the day, or night,
Rolling, have reach'd their full meridian height,
Refrains the gloomy paths with wary feet,
Dreading the demon of the grove to meet;
Who, terrible to sight, at that fix'd hour,
Still treads the round about his dreary bow'r.
This wood, near neighb'ring to th'encompass'd town,
Untouch'd by former wars remain'd alone;
And, since the country round it naked stands,
From hence the Latian chief supplies demands.
But lo! the bolder hands, that should have struck,
With some unusual horror trembl'ing shook,
With silent dread, and rev'rence they survey'd
The gloom majestic of the sacred shade:
None dares with impious steel the bark to rend,
Lest on himself the destin'd stroke descend.
Cæsar perceiv'd the spreading fear to grow,
Then, eager, caught an ax, and aim'd a blow.
Deep sunk within a violated oak
The wounding edge, and thus the warrior spoke:

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that any one shewed so great a disregard of religion, as either to conceal the plunder, or pillage

Now, let no doubting hand the task decline;
Cut you the wood, and let the guilt be mine.
The trembl'ing bands unwillingly obey'd,
Two various ills were in the balance laid,
And Cæsar's wrath against the gods was weigh'd.

With grief, and fear, the groaning Gauls beheld
Their holy grove by impious soldiers fell'd;
While the Massilians, from th' encompass'd wall,
Rejoic'd to see the sylvan honours fall:
They hope such power can never prosper long,
Nor think the patient gods will bear the wrong."

However the Massilians might have reverenced the religious notions of their neighbours, their own, at any rate, were very different, being, doubtless, the paganism of their parent Greeks. That the Gauls paid some sort of divine worship to lakes, which were consecrated to particular deities and into which they cast large quantities of gold and silver, see *Religion des Gaulois*, I, 128. They seem, likewise, to have supposed some sort of divinity in the winds. Gaul was particularly subject to that called *Circius*, to which, while it threw down their houses, the inhabitants gave thanks, as if they owed to it the salubrity of the air. (Seneca, N. Q. B. v, C. 17.) The devotion for this wind passed from the Gauls to the Romans, and Seneca remarks that the emperor Augustus erected a temple to it during his residence in Gaul. (*Religion des Gaulois*, II, 30.) It is the N. N. W. wind of the pilots, now called the *Bize*. See, as to its ravages, Strabo, B. iv.

9 The Gauls, with Ariovistus [r. Aneroëstus] for their leader,

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the public oblations; and the severest punishments were inflicted upon such offenders.[1] In their oratories, also, and the sacred temples of the country, in honour of their gods, they scattered pieces of gold up and down, which none of the inhabitants (such was their superstitious devotion) would in the least touch, or meddle with; though the Gauls were of themselves most exceedingly covetous.[2]

The druids held nothing more sacred than

vowed to their god Mars a chain (*torquem*) made out of the spoils of our soldiers. When Viridomarus was their king, they promised the Roman arms to Vulcan. *Florus*, B. ii, C. 4.

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 15. This great author seems to have been perfectly well acquainted with "these monuments of offerings." Suetonius tells us that "In Gaul he rifled the chapels and temples of the gods, filled with rich presents." (C. 54.) The gold of Gaul, indeed, was, in all probability, his principal inducement to the war; as the hope of finding pearls was, to his invasion of Britain. (C. 47.)

[2] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. Their superstition, however, did not teach them to respect the religious prejudices of other countries. Pyrrhus, having plundered Ægeas, the seat-royal of the kings of Macedon, left there a garrison of Gauls, who, being informed that there were great treasures (according to ancient custom) hid in the sepulchres of the kings, dug up all the tombs, and divided the wealth amongst themselves, but scattered abroad the bones and ashes of the dead. (Idem, B. xxii, *frag.*) This fact is also related by Plutarch, in the Life of Pyrrhus. It happened 274 years before Christ.

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the misseltoe, and the tree on which it grew, provided it were an oak. Therefore, they chose out solitary groves, wherein were no trees but oaks, nor performed any ceremonies without the branches or leaves of that tree. So that from thence (if we regard the Greek signification) they may very well be thought to have taken the name of *Druidæ*. Indeed whatsoever they found growing to or upon an oak they took to be sent from heaven, and looked upon it as a certain sign, that their god had for himself made choice of that particular tree. But it was a thing rarely to be met with; and, when found, they resroted to it with great devotion.[3] In these ceremonies

[3] "Ad viscum Druidæ! Druidæ clamare solebant:"

This line, attributed to Ovid, is not to be found in any of his existing productions. Of the religious veneration paid to the oak by the Hebrews, and other ancient nations, see Wares *Antiquities of Ireland*, by Harris, p. 119; and Rowlands's *Mona antiqua restaurata*, p. 56. The name of an *oak*, in Latin, *quercus*, is in Greek, δρυς or δρυος, in Welsh, *deruen*, *dâr*, in Irish *dair*, and in Armorican *derwen* or *derven*.

According to Keysler, (p. 305), "there are plain vestiges of this ancient druidical reverence for the *misseltoe* still remaining in some places in Germany; but principally in Gaul and Aquitain: in which latter countries, it is customary for the boys and young men on the last day of December, to go about through the towns and villages, singing and begging money, as a kind of New-year's gift, and crying out, *Au guy! l'an neuf!*" To the misseltoe! the new year!

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they principally observed that the moon were just six days old: for the moon was their guide in the computation of their months and years, and of that period or revolution which with them was called an age, that is, thirty years complete: and they chose the sixth day, because they reckoned the moon was then of considerable strength, when she was not as yet come to her half. The product of the oak they called by a name answering to all-heal; and, when they came to it, they solemnly prepared a sacrifice, and a festival entertainment under the oak, and bringing thither two white bulls, whose horns were then, and not till then, tied. This done, the priest, habited in a white vestment, climbed the tree, and, with a golden pruning-hook, cut off the misseltoe, which was carefully received in a white cassock, by those who attended below. They then proceeded to kill the beasts for sacrifice and made their prayers to the god, that he would bless this his own gift, to those persons to whom they should dispense it. They had a conceit that a decoction of this misseltoe, given to any barren animal, would certainly make it fruitful: and that it was a most sovereign anti-

It is a general practice in the greater families in London, or Westminster, for the servants to hang up a bush of misseltoe on the ceiling of the kitchen, under which the maids are kissed: and this too, it is presumed, was a custom of the old licorous druids.

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dote against all sorts of poison. So much religion do people commonly place in fopperies.[5]

There was a kind of eggs, in great reputation with the Gauls, though unnoticed by the Greeks. In summer, innumerable serpents, entangled together, with the slaver of their jaws, and the froth of their bodies, by an artificial embrace, form a ball; it is called *anguinum* (the serpents egg). The druids said that it was thrown by hissings into the air, and must be intercepted in a cassock, lest it touched the ground: that the snatcher was to fly on horseback for the serpents pursued him, till they were stopped by the intervention of some river: that its proof was, if it would swim against the waters, even bound with gold: and, as the craft of the *magi* was, likewise, sagacious in concealing their frauds, they thought it was to be taken in a certain moon, as if it were at the pleasure of man to accord her to the operation of the serpents. I truly, says Pliny, have seen this egg, about the size of a moderate round apple, with a shell of cartilage, like the thick claws of the arms of a polypus; it was the ensign of a druid. For victories in law-suits, and access to kings, it was wonderfully extolled: of such vanity, that I, says the same author, know

[5] Pliny, B. 16, C. 44. They had, likewise, a great opinion of certain other herbs, called *selago* and *samolus*, when gathered with similar ceremonies. (B. xxiv, C. 11.)

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that a Roman knight, of the Vocontii, having it in his bosom, when pleading a cause, was put to death by the emperor Claudius for no other reason.[6]

It was, as before observed, one of the principal maxims of the druids, that the soul never dies, but, after death, passes from one body to another; which they thought, contributed greatly to exalt mens courage, by disarming death of its terrors.[7] As well they, as others, asserted souls and the world to be immortal; but that they had sometimes to overcome fire and water.[8]

Pliny, having observed that the art of magic had been unquestionably professed in Gaul, and continued until his own age, says that it was no longer ago than the time of Tiberius Cæsar, that

[6] B. xxix, C. 3. The ceremony of receiving the serpents egg is represented in the *Monumens Celtiques de la cathedrale de Paris*, B. iii, C. 25. An ancient tomb of Italy, given by Montfaucon, represents the manner in which the serpents formed the eggs. See *Religion des Gaulois*, I, 205. It is known that, even at this day, serpents, of different kinds, and almost innumerable, meet together in a place at the mount *la Rochette*, in the confines of Dauphiny and Savoy, between the 13th of June and the 13th of August: and fill the place with spume, which strikes horror into the spectators. See Nic. Chorier, l. 2. *His. Delph.* p. 9.

[7] Cæsar, *G. W.*

[8] Strabo, B. iv, p. 197. The opinion of Pythagoras, says Diodorus, prevailed much amongst them, that mens souls are

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the druids were by his authority put down.[9] Strabo, however, who wrote in the reign of Augustus, asserts that the Romans had withdrawn the Gauls from the rites of sacrifices and divination, which were repugnant to their manners.[1] Suetonius, also, in the life of Claudius, relates that, the religion of the druids in Gaul, being of savage cruelty, and only forbidden to the citizens under Augustus, he utterly abolished.[2]

In adoring the gods, and doing reverence to their images, the Gauls observed to turn to the left hand (contrary to the practice of other nations); and believed that they shewed more devotion in so doing.[3]

immortal, and that there is a transmigration of them into other bodies. (B. v, C. 2.) See also P. Mela, B. iii, C. 2; V. Maximus, B. i, C. 6, § 10; and Lucan, as before cited.

[9] B. xxx, C. 1. [1] B. iv.

[2] C. 25. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, another author of the Augustan age, says that no length of time had thitherto induced either the Egyptians, the Lybians, the *Celts*, the Scythians, the Indians, or any other barbarous nations whatsoever to abandon or transgress any thing relating to the worship of their gods; unless some of them had been subdued by a foreign power, and compelled to change their own institutions for those of the conqueror. (B. vii, C. 70.)

[3] Pliny, B. xxviii, C. 2. Thus, too, Lucan:

> "Et vos barbaricos ritus, *moremque sinistrum*,
> Sacrorum Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis."

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An oath, in presence of the military ensigns, was the most sacred of obligations among the Gauls.[4]

The Celts, according to Nicander, would pass the night at the tombs of brave men, in order to get oracles.[5]

The Celtiberians, and those who are their neighbours toward the north, are said to have worshipped a certain nameless god, by night at full moon, before the doors, with all their families dancing, and making a feast all night.[6]

Sena,[7] in the British sea, opposite to the Osismic shores, was famous for the oracle of a Gallic divinity; whose priests, sacred in perpetual virginity, are reported to have been nine in number: the Gauls called them Senæ;[8] and thought them endowed with singular qualities;

Posidonius, however, who had resided amongst them, and was well acquainted with their manners, says expressly, that they worshipped the gods, turning to the right. (Athenæus, B. iv,) A reconciliation of this apparent inconsistency is attempted by dom Martin. *Religion des Gaulois*, L. 1, cc. 34, 35.)

[4] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C. 2. [5] Tertullian, *Of the soul.*

[6] Strabo, B. iii, p. 164.

[7] Now *l'île de Sain*[*ts*] or the isle opposite Brest.

[8] This passage of the original (*Gallicenas vocant*) is thought to be corrupt. Vossius reads *Barrigenas vocant*. Others will have it to be a corruption of *Semnæ* (druidesses). See *Religion des Gaulois*, I, 178.

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to raise the seas and winds by charms (or songs), and turn themselves into what animals they would; to cure those diseases which, among others, were incurable; to know and foretell things to come; but not unless given to mariners and, in this only, that they should consult them when proceeding on their voyage.[9]

The sacred rites of the Britons were the same with those of the Gauls: they were possessed with the same superstition of every sort.[1] They

[9] P. Mela, B. iii, C. 6. In the ocean, according to Strabo, they say there is a small island, not plainly seated in the high sea, opposite to the mouth of the Loire; in it inhabit the wives of the Samnitæ possessed with Bacchic fury, and pleasing Bacchus with ceremonies and sacrifices. See also Dionysius *Periegetes*, V. 270.

[1] Tacitus, *Life of Agricola*. *Adrasta*, a goddess, was worshipped by the Britons; and to her Bonduca, in Dio, addresses a prayer for protection and favour. Richard of Cirencester, who had his information from the papers of a certain "*Romanorum dux*," whom he frequently quotes, says, "Among the gods *Mercury* was by them chiefly worshipped, of whom many images were set up. After him *Justice*, who by the Britons was called *Adraste*. Then *Apollo*, *Mars*, who was likewise called *Vitucadrus*, *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Hercules*, *Victory*, called *Andatis*, *Diana*, *Cybele*, and *Pluto*, were adored. They embraced almost the same opinion of these deities as other nations (B. i, C. 4.) St. Gildas, a Briton, who wrote in 560, forbears to enumerate the devilish idols of his country, surpassing almost in number those of Egypt (of which, says he,

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we yet behold some, within or without the deserted walls, grinning with deformed features, and terrible visages, after the usual manner :) neither does he cry out by name on the very mountains, or hills, or floods, to which divine honour was rendered by the then blind people. (C. 2.) The goddess *Brigantia*, to whom are found several inscriptions, was more probably a Roman than a Celtic deity. (See Gordon's *Itinerarium sep.* p. 27.)

The Britons were no less cruel than superstitious. Bonduca, their queen and general, having taken two places from the Romans, exercised, says Dio, the most horrid cruelties imaginable. But nothing, continues he, was so horrible as what she made some ladies undergo, that were illustrious for their birth and virtue. They were stripped stark naked, and hung up in this condition, when their breasts were cut off, and sewed to their mouths, that they might seem to eat them : after which their bodies were stuck full of splinters. The inhabitants, he adds, committed these barbarous inhumanities at the very time of their sacrifices, when they made feasts in their temples, and principally in the woods consecrated to *Victory*, to which they paid a particular worship. (Xiphilin, in Nero.) This barbarity, however (upon the supposition that the ladies thus treated were Roman), had been in some degree provoked, though it cannot be extenuated, by the conduct of the Romans themselves. Prasutagus, the late king of the Icenians, a prince long renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had by will left the emperor joint heir with his own two daughters; as, by such a signal instance of loyalty, he judged he should purchase a sure protection to his kingdom and family against all injury and violence. A scheme which produced an effect so entirely contrary, that his realm was ravaged by the centurions, and his house by slaves ; as if both had been the just spoils of war.

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drew presages from the course of hares :[2] and, according to Pliny, Britain was, in his time, so addicted to magical ceremonies, that it might seem to have taught them to the Persians.[3]

As, according to Tacitus, Ireland, in the temper

First of all Boudicea (or Bonduca) his wife underwent the ignominious violence of stripes, and his daughters that of constupration; and, as though the entire region had been bequeathed to the plunderers, all the principal Icenians were spoiled of their ancient possessions, and the royal relations of the late king kept and treated as slaves. (Tacitus, *Annals*, B. xiv.) The Britons, at the same time, had already taken their revenge by the slaughter of the Roman veterans in the temple at Camalodunum, the total destruction of that colony, and the defeat of Petilius Cerealis. In fact, it is impossible to decide which party was the most cruel. Not less than seventy thousand Romans perished; nor, in the final engagement with Boudicea, less than eighty thousand Britons; Boudicea herself ending her life by poison. It appears from the same author (Tacitus) that the druids, or priests, had, in the isle of Mona, or Anglesey, groves, by them dedicated to detestable superstitions; where they sacrificed captives, and, in order to discover the will of the gods, consulted the entrails of men; practices of great cruelty, by them accounted holy. (*Annals*, B. xiv.)

[2] At the close of Bonducas harangue, she let a hare slip from her, which she had all the while concealed; from the course of which she drew a presage of the combat; which seeming lucky to the army, they made a great shout for joy. (Dio, by Xiphilin.)

[3] Pliny, B. xxx, C. 4.

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and manners of the natives, varied little from Britain, so it may be concluded that they also accorded in religion. Pomponius Mela says of the Irish, they were rude, and ignorant of all virtues, and totally devoid of religion. On the arrival of St. Patrick, in 431, before which the island had received the accession of a new people, the *Scots*, all the inhabitants were Pagans, having no knowledge of god, but worshipping idols and unclean spirits. They appear to have had magicians, whom Ware supposes to have been druids, who foretold the arrival of St. Patrick three years before it took place. There is, however, no direct ancient authority for the existence of Irish druids. See O'Flahertys *Ogygia*, c. xxii, [*De*] *Hibernorum idolatria*.

In the island Silura (or Silina), upon the coast of Britain, inhabited by the Dumnonii, they worshipped the gods, and both men and women had a knowledge of future things.[4]

The Æstyi, a Celtic nation, in Germany, upon the Baltic sea, worshipped the mother of the gods, and, as the characteristic of their national

[4] Solinus, C. 22, and Salmasius, *Exercitationes*, p. 174. He is supposed, by some, to mean the *Scilly islands*; the *Damnonii* being placed in *Devonshire*, nearly the opposite coast.

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superstition, wore images of wild boars: which alone served them for arms, was the safeguard of all, and by which every worshipper of the goddess was secured even amidst his foes.[5]

[5] Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum.*

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CHAP. VII.

Of the arts and sciences of the Celts.

ACCORDING to Justin, the epitomist of Trogus Pompeius, the Gauls learned the tillage of lands, and the inclosure of cities within walls, from the Massilians. Then, says he, they became accustomed to live by laws, not arms, to prune vines, and plant olives; and so bright a face was put both upon men and things, that Greece seemed not to have been removed into Gaul, but Gaul seemed transplanted into Greece.[1] The country abounding in iron mines, the Gauls were perfectly skilled in that whole art.[2] The Aquitani were particularly skilful in mining, as inhabiting a country that abounded in veins of copper.[3]

The transalpine Gauls, according to Strabo, were better warriors than ploughmen; but hav-

[1] B. xliii, C. 4. Macrobius makes it a question, whether the Gauls had known the vine, and culture of the olive while Rome was in a state of adolescence. (*In som. Sci.* B. ii, C. 10.)

[2] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C. 21. Perhaps this is meant of the Briturigians only.

[3] Idem, *ibi.* B. iii, C. 22.

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ing laid down their arms, were, in his time, compelled to till the ground.[4] The sole employment of the Cisalpine Gauls was agriculture and war: all other arts and sciences being utterly unknown to them.[5] The tapestry of the Gauls (made of coarse rough wool) was set out in colours different from that of the Parthians.[6] They appear to have been the inventors of flock-work, and quilted mattresses.[7] They, likewise, devised the scutcheon-square, or lozenge damask-work.[8] The Cadurci, Caleti, Ruteni, Bituriges, and Morini esteemed the last of men, yea even universal Gaul, wove sail-cloth.[9] In both Gaul and Spain yest was used to lighten the bread.[1] The Gauls, like the Germans, made salt by pouring salt-water upon burning logs.[2] They had a certain herb which they called limeum, out of which they drew a venemous juice, named by them stags-poison, wherewith they used to envenom their arrow heads when they went to hunt the deer.[3] They invented sieves of horse-hair.[4]

The Britons, inhabiting the promontory Bele-

[4] Strabo, B. iv, p. 178, [5] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.
[6] Pliny, B. viii, C. 48. [7] Idem, *ibi*. [8] Idem, *ibi*.
[9] Idem, B. xix, C. 1. [1] Idem, B. xviii, C. 7.
[2] Idem, B. xxxi, C. 7; Varro, *Of farming*, B. i, C. 7.
[3] Pliny, B xxvii, C. 11.
[4] Idem, B. xviii, C. 11.

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rium, were the people that made the tin, which, with a great deal of care and labour, they dug out of the ground; and, that being rocky, the metal was mixed with some veins of earth; out of which they melted the metal, and then refined it: they then bet it into square pieces like to a die.[5] In reaping their corn, they cut off the ears from the stalk, and so housed them up in repositories under ground: thence they took and plucked out the grains of as many of the oldest as might serve them for the day; and, after they had bruised the corn, made it into bread.[6] Some of them, out of ignorance, made no cheese, although they abounded in milk: others were ignorant of the management of gardens, and the other branches of agriculture.[7]

[5] Diodorus, B. v, C, 2.

[6] Idem, *ibi.* Dio says they inhabited upon barren uncultivated mountains, or in desert marshy plains, where they had neither walls, nor towns, nor cultivated lands. See Xiphilin, in Severus. This, however, seems inconsistent with Bonducas question: "Is it not for them [the Romans] that we are obliged to till the ground, and to labour?" She, nevertheless, afterward allows, in her prayer to Adrasta, that her people were perfectly skilled neither in the way of husbandry, nor in the exercise of mean trades.

[7] Strabo, B. iv, p. 200. Galgacus, in his harangue to the Caledonians, observes that they had neither fields to cultivate, nor mines to dig, nor ports to make. (Tacitus, *Life of Agricola.*)

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The Britons and Gauls had devised a method to manure the ground, by a kind of limestone or clay, which they called marga (*i. e.* marle): having a great opinion thereof, that it mightily enriched the ground, and made it more plentiful. [8]

[8] Pliny, B. xvii, C. 6.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the persons of the Celts.

THE Gauls were, for the most part, very tall; and despised, on that account, the small stature of the Romans.[1] The Senones were even terrible by the bigness of their bodies, and vast

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. ii, C. 31. Diodorus, B. v, C. 2. Ammianus Marcellinus, B. xv, C. 12. "I by no means wonder," says Pausanias, "at the magnitude of those Gauls who inhabit the extreme parts of Gaul, and who are called Barenses, for their bodies are not larger than the dead bodies which are shewn by the Egyptians." B. i, C. 35. He, elsewhere, observes that "The Gauls, in general, surpass other men in stature." B. x, C. 20. Polybius, too, remarks the size and comeliness of their bodies. B. ii, C. 2. Arrian describes them as a people strong in body (B. i, C. 4.); and the prodigious stature of the Gallic captives, who appeared in the triumphal procession of Marcellus, is mentioned by Plutarch. Porphyry, too, instances the size of the Celts, the Thracians, and the Scythians, in support of his position, that, as the southern regions produce small bodies, which are wont to be weakened, diminished, and dried up with heat, so, on the contrary, in the northern countries all bodies grow great. (*Of the nymph of the cave.*) The Gauls, however, had little reason to despise their enemies on account of inferiority of size, since it sometimes happened, in their wars, that the biggest men among them were foiled and slain, in single combat, by a little

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arms.[2] Those of the Insubres were more than human.[3] They were red-haired, not only naturally, but they endeavoured all they could to make their hair redder by art.[4] It was, otherwise, long and fair.[5] They were of a pale or fair complexion;[6] and, indeed, their skin was very white, as they were always clothed, except in battle.[7] They were, at the same time, of a most

slender Ligurian or Numidian. See Diodorus, B. v, C. 2, and *Annals*.

[2] Florus, B. i, C. 13. [3] *Idem*, B. ii, C. 4.

[4] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2. Am. Mar. B. xv, C. 12. Virgil, speaking of the Gauls, says,

"*Aurea cæsaries* ollis—".

Livy has "*rutilatæ comæ Gallorum*," B. xxxviii, C 17); Ammian, "*Galli rutili*" (B. xv, C. 20); and Silius, (B. iv, V. 200)

"*Auro* certantem et rutilum sub vertice nodum;"

and again: (B. xvi, V. 471) "*Hispanus rutilus*." In this respect, at least, the Gauls did not differ from the Germans. Thus, too, Claudian, upon Rufinus:

"Inde truces *flavo* comitantur *vertice Galli*:"

Again, in his second panegyric in praise of Stilicho:

——"Tum *flava* repexo
Gallia crine ferox, evinctaque torque decoro,
Binaque *gæsa* tenens, animoso pectore fatur."

And Servius, likewise, upon the eighth Æneid, has *Flavi Galli*.

[5] Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 17.

[6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. Am. Mar. B. xv, C. 12.

[7] Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 21. "And why," exclaims Gito, in

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terrible aspect; and had a most dreadful and loud voice.[8] There was, even, something terrible in the cast of their eyes.[9] The women were both as tall and as courageous as the men.[1] The children, for the most part, from their very birth were white-headed; but when they grew up to mans estate, their hair changed in colour like to that of their parents.[2]

According to Ephorus, they had work given them lest they should grow fat; and, if any young man exceeded in the girdle the prescribed measure, he was to be fined.[3]

The men of Britain exceeded the Gauls in height; and had hair less yellow; but were of laxer bodies.[4] The Britons, however, it seems, varied in their looks and persons. The red hair

Petronius, "must not we have our faces white-washed, to pass for native Gauls?" Pinkerton, however, affirms that "the Celts are dusky." (*Enquiry* II, 130); and says, they "do at this day [resemble the inhabitants of the south-west of Britain], in sun-burnt faces, and curled hair." (I. 185.)

[8] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2. [9] Am. Mar. L. xv. C. 12.

[1] Idem, *ibi*. [2] Idem, *ibi*.

[3] Strabo, B. iv, p. 199.

[4] Strabo, B. iv. Let it be an argument, he adds, of their magnitude, that he himself saw young men at Rome, who even exceeded the tallest men half a foot: they were, however, ill-supported by their feet, and the other lineaments of the body did not report an elegant constitution.

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of the Caledonians, and their large limbs, testified their descent to be from Germany; the swarthy complexion of the Silures, and their hair, which was generally curled, with their situation opposite to the coast of Spain, furnished ground to believe, that the ancient Iberians had arrived from thence, and taken possession of the territory. They who lived next to Gaul were also like the Gauls.[5]

[5] Tacitus, *Life of Agricola.* See before, p. 39. It is manifest that "to be *tall* and *large*, with *fair* complexions, and often with *flaxen*, *yellow*, and red hair; the grand features," as Pinkerton pretends, "of the GOTHS, in all ancient writers," are at any rate, no less characteristic of the CELTS; and, consequently, that "diminutive" size "with brown complexions, and black curled hair, and dark eyes" are qualities never ascribed to the latter. See *Enquiry* II, 340.

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CHAP. IX.

Of the genius, temper, manners, and morals of the Celts.

THE Germans differed widely in their manners from the Gauls.[1] The Gauls were a people of singular ingenuity, extremely quick of apprehension, and very happy in imitating what they had seen practised.[2] In the words of Diodorus, they were of sharp wits, and apt to learn.[3] The Gallic nation was naturally warlike ;[4] of daring spirit, and undaunted bravery.[5] There were of them that so despised death, that they would fight naked, with something only about their loins.[6] During an action with the Romans,

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 19.

[2] B. vii, C. 21. [3] B. v, C. 2.

[4] Sallust, *War of Catiline*, C. 41. The Gauls are characterised by Justin, as a rough, bold, and warlike nation, which first passed the insuperable mountains of the Alps, and places insufferable for cold, after Hercules. B. xxiv, C. 4.

[5] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.

[6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. The Gauls, at the battle of Cannæ, were naked from the navel upward. Livy, B. xxii, C. 46.

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which lasted from one of the clock in the afternoon till the evening, no man, says Cæsar, saw the back of an enemy; and though the Gauls were at length compelled to give way, the fight was renewed with greater obstinacy at the carriages, (behind which part of them had taken shelter), and continued till the night was far spent.[7] In the engagement at Fæsula the Gauls were superior to the Romans, both in bravery and numbers.[8] Even Livy allows that the Gallic horse at Cannæ maintained their ground in order, with a strength and courage equal to that of the enemy.[9] The Nervians, in a battle with the Romans, in which their name and nation were in a manner quite extinguished, though reduced to the last extremity, exerted themselves with such determined courage, that, their front ranks being cut off, those who stood behind mounted the bodies of the slain, and thence continued to maintain the fight; and when these too by their fall had raised a mountain of carcases, such as remained ascending the pile, poured their javelins upon the Romans, as from a rampart, and even returned the darts thrown at them by the Romans. Fame therefore, adds Cæsar, who commanded in

[7] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. i, C. 20. [8] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.
[9] B. xxii, C. 48.

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person, deceived not in proclaiming so loudly the bravery of a people who adventured to cross a very broad river, climb the steepest banks, and rush upon an enemy possessed of all the advantages of ground: difficulties which, though seemingly insurmountable appeared yet as nothing to men of their resolution and magnanimity.[1] In another battle, the right wing of the Gauls, which was engaged with the twelfth legion, though the first ranks were destroyed by the Roman javelins, still maintained its ground with the utmost bravery, and seemed determined to conquer. The dispute was long and dubious; when the tribunes of the seventh legion, having notice how matters went, faced about, and attacked the enemys rear. Even then not a man offered to fly; but, at last, being surrounded on all sides, they were cut to pieces with their general.[2] These, it should be remembered, are

[1] *G. W.* B. ii, C. 27.

[2] *Ibi*, B. vii, C. 56. This great author mentions a remarkable instance of intrepidity, to which he was himself, a witness at the siege of Avaricum. A certain Gaul, posted before the gate of the city, threw into the fire balls of pitch and tallow to feed it. This man, being exposed to the discharge of a Roman battery, was struck through the side with a dart and expired. Another, striding over his body, immediately took his place. He also was killed, in the same manner. A third

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the testimonies of enemies! "Of all men," says Ælian, "I hear the Celts are the most ready to

succeeded: to the third a fourth: nor was this dangerous post left vacant, till the fire of the mount being extinguished, and the enemy repulsed on all sides, an end was put to the conflict. B. vii, C. 24. Correus, general of the Bellovaci, though his army was put to the rout, and eagerly pursued by the Romans, would neither quit the fight, and retire into the woods, nor accept of any offers of quarter; but, fighting on to the last, with invincible courage, and wounding many of the victorious troops, constrained them at length to transfix him with their javelins. (Pausa, *G. W.* B. viii, C. 16.) We are told by Polybius that Hannibal and Publius, approaching each other, endeavoured severally to animate their troops, by all the motives which the present conjuncture suggested to them. Upon this occasion Hannibal contrived the following expedient: having assembled together all the forces, he brought before them the young prisoners, whom he had taken among those barbarians who had disturbed his march across the Alps. With a view to the design which he now put in execution, he had before given orders, that these wretches should be treated with the last severity. They were loaded with heavy chains: their bodies were emaciated with hunger, and mangled by blows and stripes. In this condition he now placed them in the midst of the assembly; and threw before them some suits of Gallic armour, such as their kings were accustomed to wear, when they engaged in single combat. He ordered some horses also to be set before them; and military habits, that were very rich and splendid. He then demanded of the young men, which of them were willing to try their fate in arms against each other, on condition that the conqueror should possess those spoils that were before their eyes, while the vanquished would

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undergo dangers ....So base, indeed, do they consider it to fly, that frequently they will not escape out of houses tumbling down, and falling in upon them, nor even out of those burning, though themselves are ready to be caught by the fire. Many, also, oppose the overwhelming sea: there are some, likewise, who, taking arms, rush upon the waves, and sustain their attack, extending their naked swords and spears, in like manner as if they were able to terrify or wound them.[3]" The very name of the Gauls was ter-

be released by death from all his miseries. The captives, with one voice, cried out, and testified the utmost eagerness to engage. Hannibal then commanded that lots should be cast among them; and that those two upon whom the lot should fall, should take the arms that were before them, and begin the combat. When the prisoners heard these orders, they extended their hands toward the heavens, and every one most fervently implored the gods that the lot to fight might be his own: and no sooner was their chance decided, than those whose fortune it was to engage appeared filled with joy, while the rest were mournful and dejected. When the combat also was determined, the captives that were by lot excluded from the trial pronounced him who had lost his life in the engagement to be in their sight not less happy than the conqueror: since, by dying, he was released from all that wretchedness which they were still condemned to suffer. (B. iii, C. 6.)

[3] *Various history*, B. xii, C. 23, *Of the audacity of the Celts.* The Gauls, says Aristotle, fear neither earthquakes nor inundations. (*Eudem.* L. 3, c. 1; and *Nicomach.* L. 3, c. 10.) The Celts, inhabitants at the ocean, hold it for a disgrace if any one

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rible to the Romans. As soon as the latter were informed that the Gauls had passed the Alps, the people all were under the greatest consternation; and dreaded every thing that was terrible and fatal. Nor were these fears unreasonable. What they had formerly suffered from the Gauls was always present to their minds.[4] The near neighbourhood, as well as ancient renown and bravery of the Gauls struck the Romans with great terror; for they were indeed the enemy they dreaded most, having not forgot how

should fly from a falling wall or house. When an inundation happens of the external sea, clad in armour, they proceed to meet the waves, and remain till they are drowned, lest, flying, they should seem to fear death. Nicho. Damas. apud Stobæum, *Sermo*, 48, p. 168, 178. "He," says Plutarch, "fears not the sea who never sails upon it... nor does the Gaul fear an earthquake, nor the Æthiop lightning." *Of Superstition.* Ælian seems to have taken this from Ephorus, and is thought by some to have applied to Celts what earlier writers had reported of the Germans or Cimbri. "Not right," observes Strabo, "is he who says that the Cimbri took up arms against inundation; nor this, that the Celtæ, accustoming themselves to a freedom from fear, will suffer their houses to be destroyed, and again build them; and that more of them perish by water, than by war; which Ephorus has delivered." (B. vii, p. 293.) According to Aristotle, a man may be called either mad or insensible of pain, if he fear nothing, neither earthquakes, nor tempests; such as the Celts were said to be. (*Of manners*, B. iii, C. 10).

[4] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.

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they had formerly made themselves masters of Rome; from which time it was provided by law, that the priests should be excused from taking arms, except only to defend the city against the Gauls.[5] The defeat of the consuls, and the dreadful name of the Celts, struck a terror throughout all Italy:[6] and that Gaul was in the highest degree to be dreaded by Rome, is declared by Cicero.[7] Even their mere appearance was terrific. The Gallic army, at the battle of Telamon, as we are told by Polybius, was terrible to behold. Their appearance, and the unusual noise with which they advanced to action, struck the Romans with amazement. The very looks and motions of the Gauls, that stood naked in the front, greatly increased the terror:[8] and Mithri-

[5] Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*. According to Appian, The Gauls, before they were subdued by Cæsar, were so formidable to the Romans, that in the law by which an immunity from going to war was granted to priests and old men, the Gallic wars were excepted: for, in the time of these, no exemption was permitted either to old men or to priests. (*Civil wars*, B. ii.)

[6] Appian, *Illyricks*, C. 2.

[7] *Of the consular provinces.*

[8] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2. The Romans, engaged with the Gauls, before Gergovia, were greatly terrified at the sight of their Æduan allies, armed after the manner of the Gauls, whom Cæsar had sent to make a diversion. (Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C.

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dates, king of Pontus, to animate his soldiers, told them "that he reckoned the nation of the Gauls, which had always frighted the Romans, as part of his strength."[9] Their reputation for courage, however, seems to have declined before the time of Cæsar. "Formerly," he says, "the Gauls exceeded the Germans in bravery, often made war upon them, and, as they abounded in people beyond what the country could maintain, sent several colonies over the Rhine. But the neighbourhood of the Roman province, and an acquaintance with traffic, having introduced luxury and abundance among the Gauls, they became by little and little an unequal match for the Germans, and, being worsted in many battles, no longer pretended to compare with them in valour."[1] Though naturally warlike, to their

27.) Florus, having occasion to mention Vercingetorix, says, he was "terrible both for his person, arms, and spirit; his very name too being framed as it were to excite terror." (B. iii, C. 10.)

[9] Justin, B. xxxviii. The Asiatic, or Pannonian Gauls, from their reputation for either courage or fidelity, were the Swiss of antiquity. Cleopatra, as we learn from Josephus, had a body-guard of four hundred Galatians. (*Antiquities*, B. xv, C. 7; *War*, B. i, C. 20.) Justin says, they were a mercenary army, always ready for the assistance of the weaker side. (B. xxvii, C. iii.)

[1] *G. W.* B. vi, C. 22.

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sincerity and fierceness there was much to be added of folly and arrogance.[3] They were generally very sudden and forward in their resolves;[4] their genius and temper disposing them to be fond of revolutions, and ever forward and ready to engage in new wars.[5] They were notorious for their levity; being very changeable in their

[3] Sallust, *War of Catiline*, C. 41; Strabo, B. iv. Alexander, having passed the Ister, entered the city of the Getæ. Thither came ambassadors, as well from sundry free nations bordering upon the river, as from Syunus, king of the Triballi, and from the Celts, who inhabited the country near the Ionian bay; a people strong in body, and of a haughty spirit. All these came with offers of friendship; and a league was accordingly made and accepted on either side. Alexander then took an opportunity of asking the Celts, what they dreaded most of all things in the world, imagining that, as the terror of his name must needs have reached their country, and much further, they would have given that for their answer; but he was widely deceived in his expectations; for, as they lived in a remote part of the world, difficult of access, and so far from the course of Alexanders expedition, they told him, they were afraid of nothing more than that the sky should fall upon their heads. He, hearing this, treated them as friends, ranked them among the number of his allies, and dismissed the ambassadors, saying, that the Celts were an arrogant nation. (Arrian, B. i, C. 4.) Strabo, who has the same anecdote, says, the ambassadors added, that, in the mean time, they highly esteemed the friendship of so great a man.

[4] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iii, C. 8.

[5] Idem, *ibi.* B. iii, C. 10.

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counsels, and fond of novelties.[6] Hence they are called by the poet,

"*Vaniloquum Celtæ genus ac mutabile mentis*:"[7]

All of them were noted for their fickleness, fraud, and perfidy: this was their common and well-known character.[8] They seem, also, to have been proverbial for their credulity; as in Martial:

"Tu tantum accipies; ego te legisse putabo,
Et tumidus *Gallâ credulitate* fruar."[9]

And occasionally given to lying:

"Novisque rebus *infidelis Allobrox*."[1]

Justin calls them a greedy nation;[2] and Diodorus says, they were most exceedingly covetous.[3] This, likewise, was the character given of them by the Massilians, their neighbours:[4] and Plutarch says, The Gauls are the most covetous and insatiable of all men.[5] Anciently they gave

[6] Idem, *ibi*. B. iv, C. 5.

[7] Silius Italicus, B. viii. Claudian, likewise calls them

—"*populos levitate feroces*." *De iv, con. Hono.*

[8] Polybius, B. ii, C. 1, 2; B. iii, C. 8. In every thing they attempted, he says, they were hurried along by their passions, and never submitted to the rule of reason.

[9] B. v, E. 1. [1] Horace. [2] B. xxv, C. 1, 2.

[3] B. v, C. 2. [4] Livy, B. xxi, C. 20.

[5] *Life of Pyrrhus.*

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themselves to rapine and spoil, wasting and destroying other countries; and slighted and despised all other people.[6] Pausanias, recounting their barbarous treatment of the Callienses, calls them a nation naturally incapable of pity, and averse to love.[7] They were naturally impatient of fatigue:[8] and no less so of captivity.[9] The Galli Insubres, and the other borderers upon the Alps, had the temper of savage beasts.[1]

The Gauls, in their conversation, were sparing of their words, and would speak many things darkly and figuratively. They were lofty and hyperbolical in trumpeting forth their own

[6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2.

[7] B. x, C. 22. Apollodorus, king of Cassandria, in Macedonia, armed some Gauls, and engaged them with large gifts, and made use of them for his life-guard, because they were naturally cruel, and ready to execute any villany. Diodo. B. xxii, Ex.

[8] Cæsar, *G. W.* B vii, C. 38.

[9] The Gallo-Grecian prisoners, taken by the Romans, were the occasion of wonder, when they attempted their chains with biting, and offered their jaws to one another, to be squeezed to suffocation. (Florus, B. ii, C. 11.)

[1] Florus, B. ii, C. 4. He, elsewhere, calls the Gauls and Germans the most savage of all nations. (B. iii, C. 10.)

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praises, but would speak slightly and contemptuously of others.[2]

[2]The ordinary words of most of them, as well when they were pacified, as angry, were dreadful and full of menacing.[3] They were of a haughty spirit, apt to menace, self-opiniated, and grievously provoking.[4] They were much given to brawls, and exceedingly insolent; for, if any one of them were set a chiding or brawling, having the shrew his wife (who commonly was by far the stronger of the two, and of a sallow complexion) to take his part, a whole band of strangers was not able to match him; especially when she, setting out her neck, with big swollen veins, fell a grating of her teeth, and levelling her snow-white arms, and those of a mighty size, began once to lay about her, with fists and heels together, as if they were bolts and darts discharged violently from the withered and twisted strings of a catapult.[5] The Gesatæ, as well as all the other Gauls, were excellent

[2] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. Silius Italicus calls them "*Eridani tumidissimus accola Celtæ*:" (B. xi, V. 25.)

[3] Am. Marcel. B. xv, C. 12.

[4] Arrian, B. i, C. 4; Diodo. B. v, C. 2.

[5] Am. Mar. B. xv, C. 12.

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horsemen.[6] They also, took much delight in beasts of carriage, and were ready to purchase them at any price.[7]

Though the Gauls had very beautiful women among them, yet they little valued their private society, but were transported with raging lust to the filthy act of sodomy; and, lying, upon the ground, on beasts skins spread under them, they there tumbled together, with their catamites, lying on both sides of them: and that which was the most abominable is, that, without any sense of shame, or regard to their reputation, they would readily prostitute their bodies to others upon every occasion: and they were so far from looking upon it to be any fault, that they judged it a mean and dishonorable thing for any thus caressed to refuse the favour offered them.[9] The Belgians, as it was commonly reported, were contentious; neither was it with them accounted

[6] Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus.*

[7] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iv, C. 2. It appears from Clemens Alexandrinus, that many of the chairmen of *Rome*, in his time, were *Gauls*; as those of *London* were, not long since, *Welsh*, and are, at present, *Irish*: and those of *Edinburgh*, *highlanders*. (*Peda.* B. iii, C. 4.)

[9] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2. See also Athenæus, B. xiii. It could not, surely, be intended as a punishment for such practices, that Cæsar (the husband, himself, of every wife, and the

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shameful if young men were abused in the flower of their age.

According to Clement of Alexandria, not only the Celts, but the Scythians, Iberians, and Thracians, all of them warlike nations, were very much given to drunkenness, and thought they practised a good and happy way of life.[1] Polysænus, also, observes that the Celts in particular, were vehemently addicted to liquor.[2] And Ammianus describes the Gauls, as a nation greedily given to wine, affecting to make sundry sorts of drink resembling wine; and adds, that some among them of the baser sort having their wits and senses dulled by continual drunkenness, are ravished by wild and wandering cogitations.[3]

The Nervians, however, a Belgic tribe, suffered no resort of merchants into their city, nor would allow of the importation of wine, or other commodities tending to luxury; as, imagining that thereby, the minds of men were enfeebled,

wife of every husband) opprobriously castrated the conquered Gauls, as we are told he did by Gervase of *Tilbury*.

[1] *Pedagogue*, B. ii, C. 2. Plato had long before said that the Lydians, Persians, Carthaginians, Gauls, Thracians, and such like nations, were addicted to drunkenness. *De lege*, B. i, p. 77.

[2] B. viii, C. 23. [3] B. xv, C. 12.

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and their martial fire and courage extinguished.[4] They were men of a warlike disposition, but altogether unacquainted with the refinements of life.[5]

The Britons, according to Diodorus, were of much sincerity and integrity.[6] In capacity they were partly like the Gauls, and partly more simple and barbarous.[7] In daring of dangers, according to Tacitus, the Britons were prompted by the like boldness as the Gauls, and with the like affright avoided them when they approached. In the Britons, however, he adds, superior ferocity and defiance are found, as in a people not yet softened by a long peace. For, continues he, we learn from history that the Gauls too flourished in warlike prowess and renown: amongst them, afterward, together with peace

[4] The like prohibition prevailed among the Germans, and for a similar reason. (B. iv, C. 2.)

[5] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. ii, C. 16. They continually inveighed, he adds, against the rest of the Belgians, for ignominiously submitting to the Roman yoke, and abandoning the steady bravery of their ancestors. They openly declared their resolution of neither sending ambassadors to Cæsar, nor accepting any terms of peace.

[6] B. v, C. 2. Strabo gives much the same character of the Gauls.

[7] Strabo, B. 4.

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and idleness, effeminacy entered; and thus, with the loss of their liberty, they lost their spirit and magnanimity. The same, he says, happened to those of the Britons, who were conquered long ago. The rest still continue such as the Gauls once were.[8]

The inhabitants of Kent, which lay wholely on the sea-coast, were the most civilised of all the Britons, and differed but little in their manners from the Gauls.[9]

In the temper and manners of the inhabitants, Ireland, according to Tacitus, varied little from Britain.[1] Those of the former country, however, are asserted by Mela, to have been rude, ignorant of all virtues, and destitute of piety.[2] They were inhospitable, says Solinus, but warlike; the country being rendered inhuman by their savage manners.

[8] *Life of Agricola.* See, afterward, how the were taught politeness and humanity.

[9] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 10.

[1] *Life of Agricola.* But see Strabo (B. iv,) who says they were more wild and had barbarous customs, unknown to the Britons; which are elsewhere noticed.

[2] B. iii, C. 6.

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CHAP. X.

Of the marriages or family connections of the Celts, their wives and children.

THE men, as much money as they had received from their wives, by the name of a portion, were to communicate so much of their own goods, estimation made, with the portions. Of all this money, consideration was had together, and its product preserved: which of them survived in life, to him or her each part, with the products of former times, came. The men had power of life and death over their wives, just as over their children: and when the father of a family, born of a more illustrious place, deceased, his relations came together, and concerning his death, if the thing came into suspicion, they had the question of the wives, after the manner of slaves; and, if found guilty, they put them to death, tortured with fire and all torments.[1]

It was a custom observed by the Celts, that they should admit their wives to consultations

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 17.

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about war and peace; and that their labours should determine the controversies arisen with their allies.[2] The wives of the Gauls carried pots of pudding into the baths, which they ate with their children while they washed.[3]

In this, almost, from others they differed; because they would not suffer their own sons to come openly to them, unless when they were grown so as that they might be able to sustain the reward of soldiery; and for a son, in a puerile age, to stand in his fathers presence, they reckoned disgraceful.[4]

[2] Plutarch, *Of the virtues of women;* who relates this as the origin of the custom. The Celts, before they had passed the Alps, and taken possession of Italy, which, says he, they now inhabit, had fallen, out of a serious and implacable discord, into a civil war. But their wives, running into the midst of the battle, and making themselves acquainted with the controversies, so rightly and unblameably decided them, that, from their sentence, an admirable friendship took place of all with all, throughout every city and family. Wherefore, he adds, in the league also which they made with Hannibal, they wrote: If the Celts should have any reason to accuse the Carthaginians, the judgement to be that of the Carthaginian generals and prefects in Spain: but, if the Carthaginians objected any thing to the Celts, the cognizance of the cause to be with the wives of the Celts. This anecdote, nearly in the same words, is related by Polyænus. (B. vii, C. 50.)

[3] Plutarch, *Symposiacs*, B. viii, Q. 9.

[4] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 16.

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Ten and twelve [Britons] had wives common amongst them; and, chiefly, brothers with brothers, and parents with children: but if there were some who were born from these, they were held the children of those, by whom at first the virgins whomsoever were led away.[5] Every mother suckled her own child, as they took delight neither in maid-servants nor nurses.[6]

The inhabitants of Hibernia (Ireland), more wild than the Britons, esteemed it decent to lie openly not only with other women, but even with their mothers and sisters.[7] In this country, also, the lying-in woman, if she had brought

[5] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 10. "Severus was wont to criminate the incontinent, and for that cause prescribed laws concerning adulterers, by which name a great many were called into the tribunal . . . from which, first of all, the wife of Argentocoxus, a certain Caledonian, is reported to have said to Julia Augusta, who taunted her, after the commenced league, that mixedly they copulated with their husbands: We accomplish those things, which necessity demands from nature, much better than you Romans: for we have, openly, intercourse with the best men: but you, secretly, the worst men pollute with adulteries. So that Britoness." (Dio. B. lxxvi, § 16, p. 1285.)

[6] Richard of Cirencester, B. i, C. 3.

[7] Strabo, B. iv. St. Jerom likewise observes that the nation of the Scots (*i. e.* Irish) had not peculiar wives. (*Ad Jovi.* C. 2.)

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forth a male put its first food upon the sword of her husband; and, as it were, to take the auspices of aliments, thrust it with the point, into the mouth of the infant; and wished, with household vows, nothing else than that he might die in war, and amidst arms.[8]

In the island of Thulé, they used women in common; certain marriage to none. Even the king of the Hebrides had no wife of his own, but took, by turns, the use of any woman he desired: so that he could neither wish nor hope for children.[9]

[8] Solinus, C. 22.
[9] Idem. ibi.

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CHAP. XI.

Of the medical knowledge of the Celts.

An herb similar to *sabina* (savine) was called *selago*. It was gathered, without iron, by the right hand, through the tunic, which was put off with the left, as it were by one stealing, clad in a white vest, and with clean-washed naked feet, the sacred ceremony being performed, before it was gathered, with bread and wine. This the druids of the Gauls declared to be a preventative against all mischief, and its smoke to be good for all diseases of the eyes.[1] They, likewise, called *samolum* an herb growing in moist grounds, and this, to be gathered, with the left hand, by persons fasting, was good against the diseases of swine and cattle; nor was the gatherer to look back, nor was it to be deposited elsewhere than in a kennel or water-course, there to bruise it for the drinkers.[2] Not one, however, had more of Roman fame than *hierabotane*, which some called *peristereona* and the Romans, *verbenaca*

[1] Pliny, B. xxiv, C. 11. [2] Idem, ibi.

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(vervain). Its kinds were two: one abounding with leaves, which was reckoned the female: the male with very few. The Gauls cast lots with both and told fortunes: but the magicians, even, went mad about it. Those anointed with it were to obtain what they would, drive away fevers, conciliate friendships, and cure every kind of disease. It ought to be gatherd about the rise of the dog-star, so that neither sun nor moon should behold it, honey and honey-combs being given before-hand to the earth by way of atonement. It was to be dug round without iron, with the left hand and cast upon high: to be dried in the shade, the leaves, stalks and root, separately. They said, that, if the eating-room were sprinkled with water, in which it lay steeped, the guests would become more joyful. Against serpents it was bruised in wine.[3] The Gauls called *exacon* (centaury), forasmuch as, being drunk, it would expel all hurtful poisons out of the body by stool.[4] An herb was, by the Gauls, called *limeum* [rightly, *loemeum*], also, *belenium*, with which they tinged their arrows in hunting, by a poison called harts-bane. From this was put into three measures of drench, as much as was wont to be put upon an arrow and the com-

[3] Pliny, B. xxv, C. 9. [4] Idem, ibi, C. 6.

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position poured down the throat of cattle in disease. It behoved that they were, afterward, tied to their stalls, until they were purged, for they were wont to go mad: if perspiration followed, they were to be washed all over with cold water.[5] Two drachms of Gallic nard was helpful against serpents. In inflammations of the cholic if [drunk] either in water or in wine; also, of the liver and reins and the overflowing of the gall and in dropsies, either by itself or with wormwood. It repressed, likewise, the violence of female purgations.[6] Among the Celts, it is said, a poison was to be found, which they themselves called *xenicum*, infecting and killing with such celerity, that the Celtic hunters, when they had struck a deer, with a tinged dart, instantly ran up and cut out the wounded flesh, lest the animal should putrefy with the producing poison and the flesh be rendered useless for aliment: but oak-bark was found to be an antidote or, as others willed, the leaf which was, by themselves, called *coracion:* thence, certainly, that it was found, by observation, that a crow, ill-affected

[5] Idem, B. xxvii, C. 11. The mistletoe is described, by this author, as possessing many medicinal qualities; but he does not, on that occasion, refer to the Gauls.

[6] Pliny, B. xxi, C. 20.

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with the tasted poison, had gone to that herb and, as soon as it had swallowed it, been delivered from its pains.[7] Moreover, we read that the Gauls tinged their darts with hellebore, because, stricken by these, lifeless beasts became more tender in feasts: but, on account of the contagion of the hellebore, the wounds made by the darts were said to be cut about widely.[8]

[7] Aristotle *Of wonders heard of.*
[8] Aulus Gellius, B. xvii, C. 15.

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CHAP. XII.

Of the unnatural deaths, and funeral ceremonies of the Celts.

We meet with many remarkable instances of suicide among the Gauls, whence we are at liberty to infer that the practice was common. Brennus, one of their kings, after his defeat at Delphos, having drunk abundance of wine, according to one writer, ran himself through the body;[9] according to another, being severely wounded, though there was reason to hope he would not die of his wounds, yet through fear of his fellow-citizens, and still more through shame that he had been the cause of the Gauls suffering such calamities, he voluntarily destroyed himself by drinking pure wine.[1] A third says, that, not being able to bear the pain of his wounds, he ended his life by a dagger.[2] Anerœstus, another, and the greatest of their kings, having, after the loss of a great battle to the Romans, escaped, with a few attendants, killed himself, with his

[9] Diodorus, B. xxii, *frag.*
[2] Justin, B. xxiv.
[1] Pausanias, B. x, C. 23.

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companions.[3] Cativulcus, who, jointly with Ambiorix, was king of the Eburones, and had associated with him in all his designs, being of a very advanced age, and unable to bear the fatigues of war or flight, after many imprecations against the latter, who had been the prime contriver of an unsuccessful revolt against the Romans, poisoned himself with an extract of yew, a tree very common in Gaul and Germany.[4] Drapes, who had been made prisoner by Caninius, either out of indignation at finding himself a captive, or dreading a severer fate, put an end to his life by abstaining from food.[5] Quintus Martius, consul, attacked in war the nation of the Gauls seated under the foot of the Alps, who, when they saw themselves surrounded by the Roman forces, and understood themselves to be unequal in war, having killed their wives and children, they threw themselves into the flames.[6] Those of the Gauls, who, surprised by the Romans, had not then the power of accomplishing their death, and were taken, some with iron, others by hanging, others by abstaining from

[3] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2. Diodo. B. xxv, *frag.* The latter author says, he cut his throat.

[4] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 29.

[5] Pansa, *G. W.* B. viii, C. 36. [6] Orosius, B. v, C. 15.

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food, put an end to themselves. The Japydes burned their houses, and slew themselves with their wives and children, so that nothing of theirs should come to Cæsar. Those of them who were taken alive perished by a voluntary death.[7] Boudicea, also, the British princess, ended her life by poison.[8]

Their funerals were magnificent and sumptuous, according to their quality. Every thing that was dear to the deceased, even animals, were thrown into the pile; and, before Cæsars time, such of their slaves and clients as they loved most sacrificed themselves at the funeral of their lord.[9] At their funerals they would write letters to their departed friends, and throw them into the funeral pile, as if they were to be read by the deceased.[1] And, thinking their souls eternal, and another life after death, when they burned and buried their dead, the accounts and bonds proper to them when alive were made

[7] Dio. B. xlix, p. 403.

[8] Tacitus, *Annals*, B. xiv. Dio, however, who calls her *Bonduca*, says she died of a fit of sickness, the Britons making great lamentations for her, burying her magnificently, and acknowledging that by her death they were truly and effectually overcome. (*In Nero.*)

[9] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 17. See also P. Mela, B. iii, C. 2.

[1] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2.

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to accompany them.[2] For the same reason they were wont to lend money to be repaid to them in the other world.[3] Such, at least, was their conduct at home and in peace; for they acted very differently when warring in a foreign country. After the battle of Thermopylæ, the Gauls, who had been there defeated under their king Brennus, did not demand any truce that they might bury their dead; plainly evincing, that they considered it as a matter of no consequence, whether the bodies of the slain were buried in the ground, or torn in pieces by wild beasts and fowls.[4]

[2] P. Mela, B. iii, C. 2.

[3] V. Maximus, B. ii, C. 6. I should call them fools, he adds, if these wearers of breeches (*braccati*) had not held opinion according to the belief of the philosopher Pythagoras. Their philosophy also, in this instance, he calls covetous and usurious.

[4] Pausanias, B. x, C. 21. He supposes them to have been thus careless, as to the interment of the slain, partly from a desire of terrifying their enemies by this specimen of their ferocity, and partly from their want of commiseration for the dead.

A cave, supposed to be a Gaulish sepulchre, was discovered near Auxerre, in 1735, for an account whereof see Le Beuf, *Divers écrits*, tom. i, p. 290. Montfaucon, in his *Antiquités*, gives a description of two remarkable Gaulish sepulchres, and their contents (V. 5, p. 2, B. i, C. 8 and 9.)

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CHAP. XIII.

Of the dress, arms, and personal ornaments of the Celts.

THE garments of the Gauls were very strange; for they wore party-coloured coats, interwoven here and there with divers sorts of flowers; and hose which they called *braccæ*.[5] They, like-

[5] The Romans, on account of these *braccæ*, or breeches, distinguished that part of Transalpine Gaul, which was also called the province of Narbo, or *Gallia Narbonensis*, by the name of *Gallia braecata*. Strabo mentions them as worn only by the *Belgæ* (B. iv, p. 195): but Polybius says that the Boians and Insubrians wore the *breeches* of their country, and were covered with light military vests; and that the Gauls that were in the ranks behind were in part secured against the darts and javelins by their *breeches* and military vests (B. ii, C. 2.) If, as it is generally believed, the word is originally Celtic, it may have implied *variegated* or *speckled*, as *breac* does in Irish. These *braccæ*, however, were by no means peculiar to the Gauls, being likewise used by the Germans, Sarmatæ, Getes, and Persians. See Vossius, *De vitiis Latini sermonis*, C. 2. This habit, which Tacitus calls "a barbarous covering," was introduced among the Romans in the time of Augustus. Vopiscus, *in Aurelian*, describes Tetricus "*braccis Gallicis ornatus*."

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wise, made their cassocks of basket-work, joined together with laces on the inside, and checquered with many pieces of work like flowers: those they wore in winter were thicker, those in summer more slender.[6] Those who bore honours used greatly vests painted and variegated with gold.[7] Not only the women but the men decked and adorned themselves with a profusion of gold; for they wore bracelets of this metal about their wrists and arms; and massy chains, of pure and beaten gold, about their necks; and weighty rings upon their fingers; and crosslets of gold upon their breasts.[8] Some

V. Maximus terms the Gauls *braccati*, by way of sneer or contempt. (B. i, C. 6, § 10.) Yet Mr. Pinkerton is pleased to assert that "the Celts wore no *braccæ*, or breeches, the grand badge," he says, "of the Germans." (*Enquiry*. I, 15.)

[6] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2. The cloak or cassock worn, at least by the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul, procured it the name of *Gallia togata*. Scipio, according to Polyænus, introduced the dress of the Gallic cloak; and he himself used to wear a black one. (B. viii, C. 16.) Diodorus says that the Celtiberians wore black rough cassocks, made of wool like to goats hair.

[7] Strabo, B. iv, page 195.

[8] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. Strabo, B. iv, p. 195. In Gaul, according to the former, there were no silver mines, but there was much gold, with which the nature of the place supplied the inhabitants, without the labour or toil of digging in the mines. For the winding course of the river, washing with its

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girt themselves over their coats, with belts gilt

streams the feet of the mountains, carried away great pieces of golden ore, which those employed in that business gathered; and then ground and bruised these clods of golden earth; and, when they had so done, cleansed them from the gross earthy part, by washing them in water, and then melted them in a furnace; and thus got together a vast heap of gold. The gold chains, or *torques*, of the Gauls are often mentioned in history. At Anien, Manlius, in a single combat, took a golden chain (*aureum torqueum*), amongst other spoils, from a Senonian Gaul, which obtained him the surname of *Torquatus*. (Florus, B. i, C. 13; Eutropius, B. ii, C. 5.) They once, with Ariovistus [r. Aneroëstus] for their leader, vowed to their God Mars a chain made out of the spoils of the Roman soldiers; but, Jupiter intercepting their vow, Flaminius erected a golden trophy out of their chains (*torquibus*.) Florus, B. ii, C. 4. In the year of Rome 627, C. C. Longinus and S. D. Calvinus, the consuls, made war upon the Transalpine Gauls, and killed an infinite number of them; when a great deal of plunder, consisting of the gold chains (*ex torquibus*) of the Gauls, was brought to Rome. (Eutropius, B. iv, C. 22.) In the battle they had, near Telamon, with the consuls Æmilius and Atilius, the combatants, in the foremost ranks, were all adorned with chains of gold about their necks and hands. (Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.) Virgil, in his description of Æneas's shield, speaking of the Gauls, who were represented in the act of invading the capitol, takes care not to omit this characteristic ornament:

"Fair golden tresses grace the comely train,
And every warrior wears a golden chain.
Embroider'd vests their snowy limbs infold;
And their rich robes are all adorn'd with gold."
(Æ. B. viii.)

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with gold or silver.9 All of them, with equal diligence and curiosity, were neat and clean:

Silius Italicus, too, describing a Gallic chief, says,

"His iv'ry neck a golden chain did bear,
His garments with pure gold embroider'd were;
Bracelets of massy gold adorn his wrist,
And the like metal shone upon his crest." (B. iv.)

Among the spoil, after the battle of Aurinx, between the Carthaginians and the Romans, many things were found that belonged to the Gauls; great quantities of gold rings, chains, and bracelets. (Livy, B. xxiv, C. 42.) The Gauls appear even to have had a king called, from this circumstance, *Torquatus*. See Pliny, B. xxxiii, C. 1; and Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, I, 338. Neither was this fashion peculiar to the Gauls; as some of the most considerable persons in Cyrus's army, as we learn from Xenophon, wore chains about their necks and bracelets upon their arms. (*Expedition*, B. i.) The author, whoever he was, of the *Parallels*, so unjustly ascribed to, because so utterly unworthy of, Plutarch, tells the following story, which he pretends to have from the relation of Clitophon (a historian; apparently, of his own invention) in the first book of Gallic affairs: "Brennus, king of the Gauls, wasting Asia, came to Ephesus, where he became enamoured of a plebeian girl, who promised to grant him the use of her body, and to betray Ephesus, in consideration of certain bracelets and female ornaments: whereupon Brennus commanded his soldiers to cast whatever gold they had into the bosom of the avaricious creature, who overwhelmed by the quantity of gold, perished. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch, after him, relate a similar story of the virgin *Tarpeia*, who had promised to betray the capitol to the *Gauls* (whom the poet

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neither, in those tracts, and especially in Aquitain, should you see a woman, were she ever so poor, in foul and ragged clothes, as in other places.[1]

The Belgæ wore cassocks, nourished their hair, and used breeches extended about them. In the place of tunicks they had a vest slit and with sleeves, hanging down to the private parts and buttocks. Their wool was coarse and shorn, as near as might be, to the very skin; and from that they wore their thick cassocks, which they called *Cænas*.

Upon their heads they wore helmets of brass, with large pieces of work raised upon them, for ostentation sake, to be admired by the beholders;

Simulus, by a most egregious blunder, had converted into *Sabines)*; the original, no doubt, of this of Brennus. After all, it seems, the Greek word στρεπτὸν, and the Latin *torques*, should be translated a *wreath*, rather than a *chain*. See an account of the discovery of an ancient golden *torques* by Edward Lhuyd in Gibsons additions to Camdens *Britannia* (Meirionydhshire). We learn from Pliny that the Celtic necklaces were called *viriolæ*, the Celtiberian *viriæ*. (B. xxxiii, C. 12.)

[2] The Insubrian Gauls, says Florus, had often sworn, but especially under their general Britomarus, that they would not loose their belts before they mounted the capitol; and it happened accordingly, for Æmilius conquered and disarmed them in the capitol. (B. ii, C. 4.)

[1] Am. Marcel. B. xv, C. 12.

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for they had either horns of the same metal joined to them, or the shapes of birds and beasts carved upon them.[2] Some of them wore iron breast-plates and hooked;[3] but others, content with what arms nature afforded them, fought naked.[4]

All the Britons in general painted themselves with woad, which gave a bluish cast to their skins, and made them look dreadful in battle.[5]

[2] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. The Celtiberians, he says, wore brazen helmets, adorned with red plumes.

[3] Varro says that *lorica* (a coat of mail) came *à loreis* (from leather thongs), because breast-plates were formerly made of raw leather: afterward, the Gauls, under that name, fabricated, from rings, an iron tunick. *De lingua Latina, L.* 4.

[4] Diodo. B v, C. 2. Of their fighting naked we find many instances. Several representations of the habits of the Gauls are inserted in Montfaucons *Antiquités*, V. iii, p. 1, B. ii. In B. i, C. 13, are six Gallic soldiers and an archer. See also further observations on the habit of the Gauls, "*Explication de divers monumens singuliers, par Dom* * * * [Martin]. Paris, 1739, 4to. p. 128, &c. 194.

[5] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 10. See also P. Mela, B. iii, C. 6. Herodian, B. iii. Propertius (B. ii, E. 18) calls them, "from this practice, "*infectos Britannos!*" Ovid (*De amore*, B. ii, E. 16.), "*virides Britannos;*" Martial (B. xiv, E. 99), "*pictis Britannis,*" and (B. xi, E. 54), "*cæruleis Britannis;*" Lucan, (B. iii), "*flavis Britannis;*" and Seneca (*De Claudio*), "*cæruleos scuta Brigantes.*" There was an herb, in Gaul, according to Pliny, called *glastum*, with which, he says, the wives and

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They, likewise, dyed their skins with the pictures of various animals, which was one principal reason for their wearing no clothes, because they were loth to hide the fine paintings on their bodies. The greater part of them, in Cæsars time, went clad in skins:[6] but, according to

daughters of the Britons stain their whole body, and walk naked in certain religious festivals, imitating the colour of Æthiopians (B. xxii, C. 1). It appears from Solinus, that these figures or images were made, by means of wounds or punctures, in young boys, and increased in size with the growth of the man (C. 22.) This practice, however, was by no means peculiar to the Britons. The Agathyrsi, a Scythian nation, painted their bodies over with blue-coloured spots, larger or smaller, and more or less numerous, according to their rank. See Am. Marcel. B. xxxi, C. 2; P. Mela, B. ii, C. 1. Virgil, too, calls them "*picti Agathyrsi.*" (Æ. B. iv, V. 146.) Among the Daci and Sarmatæ, likewise, as Pliny observes, the men inscribed their bodies, as the barbarian women, in some countries, besmeared each others faces. (B. xxii, C. 1.) He also says that the Tribareni and Mossyni branded and marked their bodies with hot searing irons. (B. vi, C. 4.) Virgil, moreover, speaks of the "*picti scuta Labici.*" (Æ. B. viii, V. 796), and "*pictos Gelonos*" (G. B. ii, V. 115); and Martial, of the "*picti Mauri*" (B. x, E. 6.) The Zygantes, an ancient nation, mentioned by Herodotus, painted themselves with vermilion. (*Melpo.*) and Tacitus, of the Arii, a community of the Lygians, says, their bodies were painted black. The Japydes, also, punctured their bodies with marks, in the manner of the rest of the Illyrians and Thracians. (Strabo, B. vii, p. 315.)

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Herodian, they almost always went naked; being ignorant of the use of clothes; and only covered their necks and bellies with fine plates of iron, which they esteemed as an ornament, and a sign of wealth, and were as proud of it as other barbarians were of gold.[7] They were long-haired; and shaved all their body, except the upper lip.[8] The dress of Bonduca, queen of the Iceni, is thus described: she wore a chain of gold,[9] a tunick of several colours, all in folds,

It is remarkable that the Angli, even so low as the Norman conquest, are described by William of Malmesbury as "*picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti*" (*De G. R. A.* L. 3): and that this relic of paganism had been already reprobated by the council of *Cealchythe* in Mercia, anno 785. The Picts are said, by Claudian and Isidore, to have adopted the same practice. It is, nevertheless, true that no writer mentions it to have been adopted by the Gauls; but "that there is not the smallest authority to believe that the Welch Britons ever painted themselves," is a singularly bold assertion.

[6] *G. W.* B. v, C. 10.

[7] Herodian, B. iii. Their nakedness seems to have been very convenient; since, according to this author, they were accustomed to swim in, or wade up to their middle through, the lakes and marshes of which their country was full.

[8] Dio, by Xiphilin. They certainly wore breeches, as we learn from Martial:

"Lydia tam laxa est, equitis quàm culus aëni;
Quam veteres *bracæ Britonis* pauperis:"

(L. xi, E. 22.)

[9] Στρεπτὸν (*torques*).

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and, over it, a vest of coarse stuff. She held a lance in her hand, to appear more terrible. She had white hair, which fell down upon her shoulders to the bottom of her back.[1]

Both in Gaul and Britain the ring was worn upon the middle finger.[2]

For swords the Gauls used a long and broad weapon called *spatha*, which they hung across their right thigh by iron or brazen chains.[3] Their swords, indeed, were long and without points;[4] and were formed to strike only with the edge. They, also, could make but one single stroke; by the force of which they were so bent and twisted, that, unless the soldiers had leisure to rest them upon the ground, and with the assistance of their feet recover them to their former shape, the second stroke was wholly without effect. Beside, as they were only formed to give a falling blow, a certain distance was always necessary for that purpose.[5] The jave-

[1] Dio Cassius, by Xiphilin, *under Nero*. The golden chains of the Britons are particularly mentioned by Tacitus, among the spoils of Caractacus. (*Annals*, B. xii.)

[2] Pliny, B. xxxiii, C. 1.

[3] Diodo. B. v, C. 2.

[4] Livy, B. xxii, C. 46; B. xxxviii, C. 17.

[5] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2; B. iii, C. 12. The Gallo-Grecians, attacked by Manlius, had no other arms but their swords;

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lins of their horsemen were weak and small.[6] For darts they cast what they called lances, of which the iron shafts were a cubit or more in length, and almost two hands in breadth. For their swords were as big as the saunians[7] of other people; but the points of their saunians were larger than those of their swords: some of them were straight, others bowed, and bending backward, so that they not only cut, but broke the flesh: and, when the dart was drawn out, it tore and rent the wound most miserably.[8] Their defensive arms were a shield, proportionable to the height of a man, garnished with their own ensigns. Some carried the shapes of beasts in brass, artificially wrought, as well for defence as ornament.[9] These shields were made of bark or wicker, and covered over with hides.[1] They were flat and long, without breadth; and only

which, on that occasion, were of no use to them. Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 21.

[6] Plutarch, *Life of Crassus*; Appian, *Parthicks*, C. 8. These horsemen, in young Crassus's engagement with the Parthians, though the troops on which he chiefly depended, were either naked, or but lightly armed.

[7] A kind of dart. [8] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. [9] Idem, *ibi*.

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. ii, C. 33. They sometimes used them for rafts to assist them in swimming over a river. Pausanias, B. x, C. 20.

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covered part of their huge bodies.[2] The Gauls, who fought against the Greeks at Thermopylæ, had no other defence for their bodies than those shields, which they called *thureoi*:[3] the form of which very much resembled that of the wicker shields of the Persians, which were called *gerrha*.[4]

[2] Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 31; Polybius, B. ii, C. 2. These targets greatly incumbered the Gauls, in one of their engagements with Cæsar; for, many of them being pierced and pinned together by the javelins of the Romans, they could neither draw out the javelins, which were forked at the extremity, nor act with agility in the battle, because deprived in a manner of the use of their left arms: so that many, after long tossing their targets to and fro, to no purpose, to disengage them, chose rather to throw them away, and expose themselves without defence to the weapons of their enemies. *G. W.* B. i, C. 20. [3] Pausanias, B. x, C. 20.

[4] *Idem*, B. x, C. 19. This kind of buckler is mentioned by Homer (*Odyssey*); and Eustathius, upon the passage, explains Γέρρα, "Persian bucklers of wicker." Xenophon, in his *Expedition*, terms a body of the Persians, Γερροφόροι. Virgil, too, mentions both the lances and the shields of the Gauls, as represented upon the shield of his hero:

——"duo quisque Alpina coruscant
Gaesa manu, *scutis protecti corpora longis*."
(Æ. B. viii.)

He elsewhere supposes the wicker-shield common to Ausonia:

"And for the shield the pliant sallow bend."
(Æ. B. vii.)

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The armour of the Belgians was a long sword, hanging on the right side; a long shield; lances in proportion; and a kind of javelin: some, likewise, used bows and slings: they had, also, wood in the form of a pile, which was thrown, not by a thong, but out of the hand: but a dart, which they chiefly used in fowling, could be thrown much further.[5]

Some of the Celtiberians were armed with the Gauls light shields; others with bucklers as big as shields. They carried two-edged swords, exactly tempered with steel; and had daggers beside, of a span long, which they made use of in close fight. They made weapons and darts in an admirable manner, for they buried plates of iron so long under ground till the rust had consumed the weaker part; and so the rest became strong and firm: of this they made their swords, and other warlike weapons; and with these arms, thus tempered, they so cut through every thing in their way, that neither shield, helmet, nor bone, could withstand them: and because they were furnished with two swords, the horse, when they had routed the enemy, used to light and join with the foot; and would fight to admiration.[6]

[5] Strabo, B. iv, 195.

[6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. See also Polybius, B. iii, C. 12. Livy,

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The Britons were armed with very little targets, and swords of an enormous size. These swords being blunt at the end, were unfit for grappling, and could not support a close encounter.[7] The arms made use of by this nation, according to Dio, were a buckler, a poniard, and a short lance, at the lower end of which was a piece of tin, in the form of an apple, with which their custom was to make a noise, with a design to frighten their enemies. [8] Herodian, who calls them a very warlike and fierce people, says they were armed only with a narrow shield, and spear, and a sword hanging by their naked bodies, unacquainted with the use of habergeons and helmets, which they thought would be an obstruction to their wading through the ponds and marshes of their country.[9] It appears, however, from Bonducas harangue to her army, that

too, observes that the Gauls and Spaniards, at Cannæ, had shields of the same form. B. xxii, C. 46. He, likewise, says that the latter, whose manner was rather to thrust at, than cut an enemy, had short pointed swords, which were easy to manage.

[7] Tacitus, *Life of Agricola.* [8] Xiphilin, *under Severus.*

[9] B. iii, *(under Severus).* Tacitus, likewise, observes of the Britons, that they cover themselves with no armour." *Annals,* B. xii.

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they were armed, at that period, with helmets and coats of mail.[1]

Those, among the Hibernians, who affected finery, adorned the hilts of their swords with the teeth of sea-animals, which they burnished to the clearness of ivory: for the chief glory of the men, was, in the brightness of their arms.[2]

[1] Xiphilin, *under Nero.* [2] Solinus, C. 22.

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CHAP. XIV.

Of the manners and conduct of the Celts in war, and of their military character.

To call an assembly of the states in arms, implied, according to the custom of the Gauls, an actual commencement of war; and, by a standing law, obliged all their youth to appear at the diet in arms; in which they were so extremely strict, that whosoever had the misfortune to come last was put to death in sight of the multitude, with all manner of torments.[1] They were a people famed above all nations for their military virtues.[2] Every age among them was most meet for warfare; and with like courage and hardiness of heart was the old man brought into the field, and the lusty youth carrying about him limbs hardened with frost and con-

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 47. The Celts, according to Athenæus, waged war for meat and drink. (B. 6, p. 174.) The kings of the east waged no wars without a mercenary army of Gauls. (Justin, B. xxv, C. 2.)

[2] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 45.

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tinual labour, resolved to contemn many and those fearful occurrences. Neither was there ever any of them (as in Italy) for fear of going to the wars, known to cut off his thumb; and such as did so they termed, in jest, *murcos*[3] (cowards). The Gauls, in their fights, used chariots, drawn by two horses, which carried a charioteer and a soldier, and, when they met horsemen in the battle, they fell upon their enemies with their saunians; then, quitting their chariots, they went to it with their swords.[4] They also used war-chariots, resembling those of the Britons, having their axles furnished with hooks or scythes, which were called *esedæ* or *covini*.[5] They carried along with them to the wars, for

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, B. xv, C. 12. Vertiscus, general of the Bellovaci, and the chief man of their state, though so far advanced in years that he could scarcely sit on horseback, yet, according to the custom of the Gauls, would neither decline the command on account of his age, nor suffer them to fight without him. (Pansa, *G. W.* B. viii, C. 11.)

[4] Diodo. B. v, C. 2.

[5] Pomponius Mela, describing the war-chariots of the Britons, says they were armed after the manner of the Gauls (B. iii, C. 6); as does, likewise, Richard of Cirencester. (B. i, C. 3, § 14.) These chariots are mentioned by Lucan:

"*Et docilis rector rostrati* Belgæ covini:"

The drivers were called *essedarii*; and Cæsar, in a letter to

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their servants, libertines or freedmen, chosen out of the poorer sort of people, whom they

Cicero, speaking of some Gaul of great consequence, says "*Multa millia equitum atque* essedariorum *habet.*" See Clarkes edition, 8vo. p. 504. Frontinus mentions a stratagem of Cæsar, by which he turned these chariots against the enemy: "*C. Cæsar Gallorum falcatas quadrigas eadem ratione palis defixis excepit, inhibuitque.*" (B. ii, C. 3, Ex. 18.) and Strabo says, of the Britons, that they use for the wars a multitude of *esseda* or chariots, as likewise some of the Gauls. (B. iv, p. 200.) Pinkerton, however, asserts that "No *cars* of battle are to be found among the *Celts.*" (Dissertation, p. 70); and, again: "That the *Celts* ever had *cars* there is no proof." (*Enquiry*, I, 374.) But if the Gauls and Britons were not Celts, there never were any in the world; and both these nations used *cars*. They were also in use by other nations. King Antiochus had chariots of this description in his army (Livy, B. xxxvii, C. 41.); and so had Phanaces (Pansa, *A. W.* C. 60); both of whom might, possibly, have been tanght to make them by the Galatians or Gallo-Greeks. Xenophon, in his *Cyropædia* (B. vi), ascribes the invention of chariots armed with scythes to the first Cyrus; though Diodorus, from Ctesias, says that Ninus had great numbers of them in his expedition against the Bactrians (B. ii). It appears, from Arrian (B. iii, cc. 11, 12, 13), from Quintus Curtius (B. iv), and from Xenophons *Expedition of Cyrus* (B. i), as well as from the *Cyropædia* (B. vi), that the Persians had war-chariots of this description; and Frontinus (B. ii, C. 3, Ex. 17) mentions the *falcatæ quadrigæ* as having been used by Archelaus against L. Sulla.

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made use of for waggoners and footmen.[6] Two servants followed each horseman, who were themselves good soldiers, and rode on horseback. These, when their masters were in the midst of an engagement, stood in the rear of the army, and, if their masters happened to lose their horses, supplied them with fresh ones. When any master, too, fell, one of these servants fought in his stead; and, if he likewise fell, there was a third ready to succeed him. If the master happened to be wounded, one of his servants immediately led him out of the field of battle, and the other filled up the place of his wounded master. This mode of fighting they called, in their native tongue, *trimarcisias:* the name of a horse, with the Gauls, being *marcas.*[7] The Gauls made use,

[6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2.

[7] Pausanias, B. x, C 19. He conceives that the Gauls had adopted this plan in imitation of the Persians, who always had in their armies a select band of ten thousand men, whom they called *the immortals.* There was this difference, however, he allows, between the two: that the chosen band among the Persians attacked the enemy in the place of those that had been slain, after the engagement: but the Gauls ordered their select company to supply the place of the dead or wounded, during the engagement. The Gauls and Celtiberians, according to Vegetius, and many other barbarous nations, made use

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as well of their own, as of the British dogs in war; the latter, by their natural faculty, excelling all others for the chace.[8]

When the army was drawn up in battalia, it was usual for some of them to step out before the army, and challenge the stoutest of the enemy to single combat, brandishing their arms to terrify their adversary. If any came forth to fight with them, then they sung some song, in commendation of the valiant acts of their ancestors, and blazoned out their own praises; on the contrary they would vilify their adversary, and utter slight and contemptuous words, as if he had not the least courage.[9] The Gallic army,

in battle, of bands in which were 6000 armed men. (B. ii, C. 2.)

[8] Strabo, B. iv, p. 200. The Britons, who are partly descended from the Gauls, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, made use of Spanish dogs in a war with the Maroon negros; having no longer any of their own fit for the purpose.

[9] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. Frequent mention is made of these challenges by the Roman historians; who, by the way, never notice one wherein a Gaul is the victor. The two armies of Sylla and Cluentius being drawn up, a Gaul, of very large stature, advanced from the latter, and dared any Roman to single combat; but he being slain by a very small Numidian, all the rest of the Gauls were struck with such a panic that they turned their backs, and, by the disorder of their flight,

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under Indutiomarus, used to come up to the Roman camp, discharge their darts over the rampart, and in opprobrious language challenge their enemies to fight.[1] They usually, in war, formed themselves into different bodies, according to their several states.[2]

The Gauls, even in their sudden expeditions, were always attended with a vast number of carriages; and much baggage.[3] They usually pitched their camp at the foot of a mountain, by a river side.[4] When drawn up in order of battle, they commonly sat upon fascines. These they would sometimes collect and set fire to, that the

caused all the rest of Cluentius's army to do the like: so that they were pursued with prodigious slaughter. Appian, P. ii, B. i, C. 12.

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 49.

[2] Idem, *ibi*, B. vii, C. 18. Thus also Tacitus, of the Britons under Caractacus: "The troops of the several countries stood in the front of their fortifications."

[3] Panæ, *G. W.* B. viii, C. 13; Cæsar, *G. W.* B. i, C. 48. They sometimes, after an unsuccessful contest, took shelter behind these carriages, and made use of them by way of a rampart; darting their javelins upon the enemy from above, or thrusting their lances through the wheels of the waggons. Cæsar, *supra*, C. 20. Polybius, describing a battle between the Gauls and the consul Æmilius, observes, "The chariots were placed in the extremity of either wing." B. ii, C. 2.

[4] Panæ, *G. W.* B. viii, C. 29.

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blaze might cover their retreat.[5] At the beginning of a battle, they set up strange howlings, made antic gestures, and a terrible clattering by striking their arms on their shields.[6] It was, also, a custom with them, when they charged their enemies, to raise a shout, and cry out victory![7] Likewise, to denote their approbation of their commanders harangue, the whole army would set up a shout, and strike their lances against their swords.[8]

[5] Idem, *ibi*, B. viii, C. 14.

[6] Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 17. At the battle, near Telamon, between the Gauls, under the conduct of their kings Aneroëstus and Concolitanus, and the consuls, Æmilius and C. Attilius, though the Romans were elated with no small joy, when they saw they had inclosed their enemy as in a snare, yet, on the other hand, the appearance of the Gallic forces, and the unusual noise with which they advanced to action, struck them with great amazement. For, besides their horns and trumpets (which latter, according to Diodorus (B. v, C. 2), after the barbarian manner, in sounding made a horrid noise, to strike a terror fit and proper for the occasion), the number of which was almost infinite, the whole army broke together into such loud and continued shouts, that the neighbouring places every where resounded, and seemed to join their voices with the shouts and clamour of the instruments and soldiers. Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.

[7] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 29. See also B. vii, cc. 73, 74.

[8] Idem, *ibi*, B. vii, C. 20. When Paulinus and his legions were about to charge the Britons under Bonduca, the barba-

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They generally fought naked.[9] They were most fierce, impetuous, and formidable in their first attack.[1] But it was found, by experience, that, as their first onset, was more violent than that of men, so their following behaviour in battle was inferior to that of women. The bodies of those about the Alps, being reared in a moist air, had something like their snows, and, as soon as they were heated in fight, presently ran into sweat, and were relaxed by any slight

rians, says Dio, made a great shout, and sung songs full of threatenings. The Caledonians, too, received the speech of Galgacus joyfully, with chantings, and terrible din, after the manner of Barbarians. Tacitus, *Life of Agricola.*

[9] Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 1. The Gauls, in the Carthaginian army, at the battle of Cannæ, had a dreadful aspect, both in effect of their extraordinary size and habit. They were naked from the navel upward. Idem, B. xxii, C. 46. According to Polybius, the very looks of the Gauls, that stood naked in the front (at the battle near Telamon), and were distinguished by their comeliness and strength, greatly increased the terror. B. ii, C. 2. In the battle between the Gauls and the Romans, described by the same historian "The Gæsatæ," he says, "who were both vain and fearless, being apprehensive that the bushes which grew upon the place might be entangled in their habits, and obstruct their motions, threw away all covering, and, keeping their arms only, presented themselves naked to the enemy. *Ibi.*

[1] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.

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motion, as it were with the sun.[2] Thus, also Silius Italicus:

"At Mago ut vertisse globos primumque laborem,
Qui solus genti est, cassum videt," &c.

Nothing was so distressing to them in battle as heat and thirst.[3] It was their custom, in the first place, after a successful engagement, to cut off the heads of the slain.[4] These heads they hung about their horses necks.[5] Thus the same poet:

"Demetit aversi Vesagus, tum colla, jubaque
Suspensam portans galeam, atque inclusa perempti
Ora viri, patrio divos clamore salutat." (L. 4.)

[2] Florus, B. ii, C. 4. "You know by experience," says Manlius to his army, "that if you sustain their first charge, which they run to with fiery ardour and blind rage, the sweat flows from them in rivulets, their limbs are fatigued, and their arms drop out of their hands; their bodies are so delicate, and minds so effeminate, that when their fiery rage abates, the heat of the sun, dust and thirst sink them to the ground without the help of the sword." Livy, B. xxxviii, C. 17. At Thermopylæ, they rushed on the Greeks with a degree of anger and fury resembling the attacks of wild beasts; so that their rage, while life remained, suffered no abatement, though they were maimed by the battle-axe, cut down by the sword, or pierced with arrows and darts. Some of them, too, when wounded, sent back the darts which they tore from their wounds, or pierced with these darts the Greeks that stood near them. Pausanias, B. i, C. 21.

[3] Plutarch, *Life of Crassus*; Appian, *Parthicks*, C. 8.

[4] Diodo. B. xiv, C. 12.

[5] Idem; B. v, C. 2. Having cut off the heads of those that

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They delivered their spoils to their servants, all besmeared with blood, to be carried before them in triumph, they themselves, in the meantime, singing the triumphant pæan: and, as the chief of their spoils, they fastened the heads of those that they had killed over the doors of their houses, as if they were so many wild beasts taken in hunting. The heads of their enemies, that were the chiefest persons of quality, they carefully deposited in chests, embalming them with the oil of cedars; and, shewing them to strangers, would glory and boast, that some of their ancestors, their fathers, or themselves, though great sums of money had been offered for them, had refused to accept them. Some would glory so much upon this account, as to refuse, for one of these heads, its weight in gold: in this manner exposing their barbarous malignity.[6] As

were slain, they carried them to the Carthaginian camp. Polybius, B. iii, C. 6. In this action the consul Caius lost his life, and his head was carried to the Gallic kings. *Idem*, B. ii, C. 2. The Boians brought the head of Posthumius, which they had cut off, in manner of a triumph to the temple which was the most holy among them, and, having cleansed the head, as is their custom, they covered the scull with gold, and it was a sacred vase for them, in which they made their libations in their solemnities, and served as a cup for the priests and ministers of the temple. Livy, B. xxiii, C. 24,

[6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. When they return from fight, says

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the Gauls were very prompt and forward to undertake a war, so were they of a disposition that easily relented, and gave way to the strokes of adversity.[7] When Cæsar, at the head of his army, was advanced within a few miles of Bratuspantium, the capital city of the Bellovaci, they sent a deputation of all their old men, who came

Strabo, they hang the heads of their enemies from the necks of their horses, and fix them, as a spectacle, before the gates of their towns: this Posidonius, he adds, saw in many places of Gaul: and whereas, at first, he could not endure so strange a sight, it was by custom rendered less offensive. The heads of illustrious men, besmeared with pitch, they shewed to strangers, neither would they vouchsafe to restore them, if any one offered the same weight of gold. The Romans, however, when he wrote, had withdrawn them from these things. B. 4. According to Ælian, men who had died honourably in war, made the subject of their songs. He adds that they went to battle crowned, and likewise erected trophies, at once glorying in their exploits, and, after the manner of the Greeks, leaving to posterity monuments of their valour. *Various history*, B. xii, C. 23.

[7] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iii, C. 20. Dio Cassius says that, without thinking of it, all the Gauls, let the object be what it might, were carried away with insatiable eagerness, so that they knew no mean of either boldness or fear; but, as from rashness into sudden fear, so from this they rushed into foolhardy boldness (B. 39): and Strabo, that by reason of this levity, they were both intolerable when they conquered, and, when they were conquered, utterly dismayed. (B. iv).

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forth in venerable procession to meet him, signifying by out-stretched hands, and in the most submissive terms that they put themselves under his protection, nor pretended to appear in arms against the people of Rome: and, when he approached still nearer the city, and encamped within view of the walls, the women and children, from the ramparts, with extended arms, according to the custom of their country, besought the Romans for peace.[8]

The manner of storming a town was the same among the Belgians, as among the Gauls: having

[8] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. ii, C. 14. The women, at the siege of Gergovia, imagining the enemy ready to enter the gates, threw their money and clothes from the walls, and with naked breasts, and extended arms, conjured the Romans to spare their lives, and not, as at Avaricum, sacrifice all to their resentment, without distinction of age or sex. But, the Gauls assembling in great force, these very women, who had just been imploring the compassion of the enemy, now began to encourage their own troops, shewing their dishevelled hair, and producing their children, according to the custom of the Gauls. Idem, *ibi.* B. vii, cc. 44, 45. With the Celts, as well as with the Cantabrians, the Thracians, and the Scythians, mothers would kill their sons lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy; the child would kill his parents, and all his brethren, being taken prisoners, having obtained a sword, at the fathers command: also some woman those taken with her. Strabo, B. iii, p, 165.

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surrounded the walls with the whole body of their army, and by a continual discharge from their slings cleared the ramparts, they approached the gates under cover of their bucklers, and undermined the walls.[9] They seem to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the art of castrametation, and even ignorant of the use of such common implements as spades and shovels. The Nervians, meaning to surround their camp with a line, of which the rampart was to be eleven feet high, and the whole fifteen feet deep

[9] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. ii, C. 7. At the siege of Avaricum, though carried on by the Romans with incredible bravery, all their efforts were in a great measure rendered ineffectual, by the address and contrivances of the Gauls: who not only turned aside their hooks with ropes, and after having seize them drew them into the town with engines; but likewise set themselves to undermine the mount. At the same time they raised towers on all parts of the wall, covered them carefully with raw hides, and, continuing their sallies day and night, either set fire to the mount, or fell upon the workmen. In like manner as the Roman towers increased in height, by continual addition to the mount, in like manner did they advance the towers upon their walls, by raising one story perpetually over another: and counterworking the mines with the utmost diligence, they either filled them up with great stones, or poured melted pitch into them, or repulsed the miners with long stakes, burned and sharpened at the end. Idem, *ibi.*

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(of which they had learned something in their wars with Cæsar, and were further instructed by the prisoners they had made), were so unprovided of the tools necessary in this kind of service, that they were obliged to cut the turf with their swords, dig up the earth with their hands, and carry it in their cloaks: and yet, such was their number, that, in less than three hours, they completed a line of fifteen miles in circuit.[1] They, however, assisted by their prisoners, raised towers, galleries, and other works, which struck Cæsar with admiration.[2] The Allobroges, a Celtic nation, used dogs for guards; and an ambassador of that nation met Cn. Domitius, the Roman general, having guards of that description.[3] The whole nation of the Gauls, says Strabo, were warlike and fierce, and ready to fight, as to the rest, he says, of a mind simple or sincere and fettered by no malignity. So that, when provoked, they ran to battle pell mell, openly and inconsiderately; whereby they were easily circumvented, if the enemy wished to use against them any military manoeuvre: for he would entice them, with ease, when and where he pleased, and under whatever pretence, to come

[1] Idem, *ibi*. B. v, C. 34. [2] Idem, *ibi* cc. 34, 43.
[3] Appian, *Celtics*, B. iv, excerpt 12.

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to an engagement, being furnished with nothing but strength and courage.[4] The Gallic wars, in Italy, according to Polybius, if we regard only the daring spirit and undaunted bravery of the combatants, the forces that were brought into the field, the battles that were fought, and the numbers that fall in those engagements, must certainly appear as great and formidable as any that are known in history. But, on the other hand, if we reflect upon the rashness with which these expeditions were projected, or the absurd and senseless conduct by which they were carried into execution, nothing will be found more trifling or contemptible. For the Gauls, he does not say most frequently, but even in every thing they attempted, were hurried head-long by their passions, and never submitted to the rule of reason.[5]

The Britons in battle used chariots, as, it is said, the old Grecian heroes did in the Trojan war.[6] Their way of fighting with their chariots

[4] B. iv, p. 195. They were better, he says, in cavalry than infantry; and from them the Romans had the best part of their cavalry: and the more they verged toward the north and the ocean, the more warlike they were. The first praise they gave to the Belgians.

[5] B. ii, C. 2.

[6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2; Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iv, C. 22; Strabo, B. iv.

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was this: First, they drove their chariots on all sides, and threw their darts; insomuch that by the very terror of the horses, and noise of the wheels, they often broke the ranks of the enemy. When they had forced their way into the midst of the cavalry, they quitted their chariots, and fought on foot. Mean-time the drivers retired a little from the combat, and placed themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their countrymen, should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus in action they performed the part both of nimble horsemen, and stable infantry; and by continual exercise and use, had arrived at that expertness, that, in the most steep and difficult places, they could stop their horses upon a full stretch, turn them which way they pleased, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity.[7] Their principal force, according to Tacitus, consisted in foot. Some nations amongst them, he says, make war also in chariots. The more honourable person, he adds, always drives: and under his leading his followers fight.[8] It was usual for this people to counterfeit a retreat, until they had drawn the Roman

[7] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iv, C. 29.
[8] *Life of Agricola.*

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cavalry a considerable way from their legions; when, suddenly quitting their chariots, they would charge them on foot, and, by this unequal manner of fighting, made it alike dangerous to pursue or retire. Add to this, that they never fought in a body, but in small parties, and with considerable intervals between. They had, likewise, their detachments so placed, as easily to protect their flying troops, and send fresh supplies where needful.[9] Tacitus describes the British host as ranged upon the rising grounds, at once for shew and terror, in such sort that the first band stood upon the plain, and the rest rose successively upon the brows of the hills, one rank close above another, as if they had been linked together: their cavalry, and chariots of war, filling the interjacent field, with great tumult, and boundings to and fro.[1] They some-

[9] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 12.

[1] *Life of Agricola.* It appears from Dio, that the Britons continued the use of these chariots in Severus's time. Their horses, he says, were low, but swift. Propertius informs us that the British chariots were painted:

"—pictoque Britannia curru."

According to Pomponius Mela, these chariots, called *covini*, were armed, after the manner of the Gauls, having their axles furnished with hooks or scythes. (B. iii, C. 6). They are mentioned by Silius Italicus:

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times fought only by discharges of arrows.[2] They occasionally retreated toward woods, into places strongly fenced both by nature and art; all the avenues being secured by felled trees: whence they would sally out in small parties.[3] Sometimes, keeping at a distance from the enemy, and sheltering themselves in woods and inaccessible places, they would fall suddenly upon the Romans, employed in foraging, or otherwise dispersed and in disorder; and even attack the legions and standards.[4] The river Thames, toward which Cæsar was marching, to penetrate into the kingdom of Cassivelanus,

" —— incola *Thules*
Agmina *falcifero* circumvenit arta *covino*; "

Richard of Cirencester says, " They fought not only on foot and horseback, but also in chariots armed after the manner of the Gauls, which they called *covini*, but vulgarly *essedæ*, the hooked axles whereof they used. Cæsar calls them *essedæ*, and their drivers *essedarii*; the common carriages he terms *carri*. See before, p. 158.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, B. xii. See also B. xiv. The strength of the Britons, according to Richard of Cirencester, was in their infantry; they fought also with darts, and huge swords, and short bucklers.

[3] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 8.

[4] Idem, *ibi*, B. iv, C. 28; B. v, cc. 13, 15. See also, as to the conduct of Vercingetorix, in Gaul, B. vii, C. 15; and that of the Morini and Menapians, B. iii, C. 29.

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being fordable only at one place, and that not without great difficulty, the Britons secured the banks, on the opposite side with sharp stakes, and drove many of the same kind into the bottom of the river, yet so as to be covered by the water.[5] The Caledonian Britons, in Severus's expedition, used to expose flocks of sheep and oxen, with a view to surprise such of the Roman soldiers as should be tempted to stray from the army for the sake of provision or plunder: he saw no enemy in a body.[6] It was rare, among the Britons, that two or three communities assembled and united to repulse any public danger

[5] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 14. The remains of these stakes, says Bede, are to be seen at this day, and appear to the beholders to be about the thickness of a mans thigh, and being cased with lead, remain immoveably fixed in the bottom of the river. (B. i, C. 2.) The place is still called *Coway-stakes*. King Alfred, however, in his translation of Orosius, says that the battle was fought near *Wallingford*. According to Polyænus, Cæsars passage over a large river in Britain being disputed by the British king Cassovellaunus, he ordered an elephant, mailed in scales of iron, with a tower on his back, on which archers and slingers were stationed, to enter the river first: and that the Britons, terrified at so extraordinary a spectacle, with their cavalry and chariots, abandoned themselves to flight. B. viii, C. 23. Elephants, also, were brought into Britain by Claudius, Dio, B. lx.

[6] Xiphilin.

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threatening to all. So that, whilst only a single community fought at a time, they were every one vanquished.[7]

Among the Hibernians, the victors besmeared their faces with the blood of the slain, before they drank it.[8] The Celts having been engaged in a long war with the Autoritæ, and nothing decisive effected on either side, they poisoned their provisions and wine with noxious herbs, and suddenly in the night left their camp in confusion. The Autoritæ, supposing they had, conscious of their inferiority, made a precipitate retreat, took possession of their camp, and rioted on the stores they found there: but were presently seized with violent cholics; and in that condition the Celts surprised and slew them.[9]

[7] Tacitus, *Life of Agricola.* [8] Solinus, C. 22.

[9] Polyænus, B. vii, C. 42. These Celts are supposed t have been Gallogrecians: the Autoritæ, were a nation of Illyrians. See Strabo, B. vii, p. 315, 318.

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CHAP. XV.

Of the shipping and navigation of the Celts.

THE authority of the state of the Veneti was far the most ample of all the maritime coast of those regions: because they had a great many ships, with which they were accustomed to sail into Britain: and in science and the use of nautical things excelled the rest: and in the great and open violence of the sea, a few ports interjected, which they held themselves; all, almost, who were accustomed to use the same sea, had customs.[1] Their ships were made and furnished after this manner: their bottoms were somewhat flatter than [those] of our ships; whereby they might the more easily exclude the shallows, and the regress of the sea: their prows were very erect; and, also, the sterns were accommodated to the magnitude of waves and tempests: the whole ships were made of oak, to be borne

[1] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iii, C. 8. Vessels were fitted out, at his command, by the Santones, Pictones, and other provinces, in obedience to the Romans.

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against whatsoever force or shock: the benches of the rowers of beams a foot-long in width, confixed with iron nails, of the thickness of an inch; their anchors, instead of ropes, being bound with iron chains: their skins, and leather made soft, for sails; either because of the want of canvas, and the ignorance of its use; or, which is more credible, that they thought that so great tempests of the ocean, and such violences of winds to be sustained, and such loads of ships to be governed with sails, not commodiously enough to be able. With these ships was an encounter of our fleet of this kind; as the one excelled in celerity and the beating of oars; as to the rest, for the nature of the place, for the force of tempests, things were more apt and accommodated to them: for neither them were ours able to hurt with their beak (such was the firmness in them), nor, by reason of their heighth easily cast a dart; and from the same cause they the less held together in the rocks. To be added to this, that when the wind had begun to rage, and they had given themselves to the wind; both the tempest they bore more easily, and in the shallows more safely kept, and, left by the tide, the rocks and cliffs feared nothing.[2]

[2] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iii, C. 13. See, also, Strabo, B. iv, p. 195.

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Cæsar (being in Spain) commanded his soldiers, that they should make ships; the kind of which the use of Britain had taught him in former years. The keels, at first, and the ribs, were made of light matter; the left body of the ships interwoven with wickers, and covered with leather.[3]

Four passages were used out of the continent into the island of Britain, namely, from the

[3] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. i, C. 51. He sent these boats by night twenty-two miles from his camp, and embarking a good number of soldiers, conveyed them over the river. The process is thus described by Lucan:

" Utque habuit ripas Sicoris, &c. (L. 4, V. 130.)

Soon as the falling Sycoris begun
A peaceful stream within his banks to run,
The bending willow into barks they twine,
Then line the work with spoils of slaughter'd kine:
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po;
On such to neighbouring Gaul, allur'd by gain,
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main.
On these, embarking bold, with eager haste,
Across the stream his legions Cæsar pass'd.

According to Timæus, six days sail from Britain was the island Mictis, in which white lead [tin] grew; and the Britons sailed thither in wicker boats covered with leather. (Pliny, B. iv, C. 17).

Solinus, in his description of Hibernia says, that the sea which flows between that country and Britain, wavy and un-

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mouths of the rivers Rhine, Seine, Loire, and Garonne. Those who crossed from the parts of the Rhine did not sail from the mouth itself, but from the Morini, borderers of the Menapii, among whom was likewise Itium.[4]

quiet throughout the year, is navigable only a very few days. "They sail," he adds, "in wicker boats, which they environ with a cover of ox-hides." (C. 22.)

See more of this kind of boats in Wares *Antiquities of Ireland* by Harris, Chap. 24. It is still used by the highlanders of Scotland (*Statistical account*, XIII, 134), and by the fishermen of Caermarthenshire (*Gentlemans tour through Monmouthshire and Wales*, p. 61), who call them *currachs* and *coracles* (*Curach*, Irish, and *Corwg*, Welsh).

[4] Strabo, B. iv, page 199.

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CHAP. XVI.

Of the trade and commerce of the Celts.

THE Gauls, before ever they passed the Alps in a body, had often visited the Tyrrhenian plains, for the sake of commerce.[1] So plentiful were their flocks and herds of sheep, cattle and swine, as to supply store of blankets and salt-meat, not to Rome only, but to most parts of Italy.[2] The Venetians, whose coast lay over against Britain, drove a mighty traffic to that island.[3] The Nervians, a nation of the Belgæ, as Cæsar was informed, suffered no resort of merchants into their cities, nor would allow of the importation

[1] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2. [2] Strabo, B. iv.

[3] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. iii, C. 8. He expressly states, however, that the Gauls, before his own invasion of Britain, were perfect strangers as well to the nature of the inhabitants as to the coast, harbours, and landing-places, of that island: to which few but merchants resorted; nor had even they any knowledge of the country, except the sea-coast, and the parts opposite to Gaul. (B. iv, C. 18.) It was not even known with certainty to be an island, till the time of the proprætor Agricola. (Tacitus, *Life of Agricola*; Dio, *under J. Cæsar, and Severus.*)

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of wine, or other commodities tending to luxury; as imagining that thereby the minds of men were enfeebled, and their martial fire and courage extinguished.[4]

Much of the tin, made by the inhabitants of the promontory in Britain, was transported by the merchants, who bought it, from a British isle near at hand, called Ictis,[5] whither it was conveyed in carts (for, at low water, all was dry between them and the island), into Gaul; and, for thirty days journey, was carried on horseback, through the heart of Celtica, to Massilia, and the city called Narbo, which city was a Roman colony and the greatest mart for wealth and trade in those parts.[6]

The Britons used brass and iron rings, of a certain weight, instead of money. The provinces upon the coast produced iron, but in no great quantity. Their brass was all imported.[7] In

[4] Idem, *ibi*, B. ii, C. 16.

[5] Now the isle of Wight. [6] Diodo. B. v, C. 2.

[7] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 10. The first edition, printed at Rome in 1469, reads "*Utuntur tamen*, ut nummo aureo, *aut ferreis annulis, ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummis.*" The words "*ut nummo aureo*" are omitted in most editions, which read "*Utuntur* aut ære, aut annulis ferreis . . . *pro nummo.*" Strabo says that the island produced not only iron but also gold and silver. (B. iv, p. 199.) It is, at least, doubtful

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the reign of Augustus, when certain of the British princes, courting the friendship of Cæsar with embassies and favours, had dedicated presents (to the gods) in the capitol, and rendered almost the whole island familiar to the Romans, there seems to have been a considerable traffic between Gaul and Britain in ivory bridles, chains for the neck, vessels of amber and glass, and other ordinary and promiscuous wares of that kind: all which paid custom to the emperor.[8] London, in the time of Nero, was highly famed for the vast conflux of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty.[9]

The ports and landings of Ireland were better known to the Romans than those of Britain, through the frequency of commerce and merchants.[1]

The inhabitants of the island Silura (or Siluna), upon the coast of Britain, rejected money; and gave and took things by way of exchange.[2]

whether the provincial kings of Britain ever struck money, and whether the coins exhibited as such be genuine or supposititious. Gildas, in the sixth century, complains that it should not be deemed Britain but Rome, and whatever it might have of brass, silver, or gold was marked with the image of Cæsar. C. 5.

[8] Strabo, B. iv. [9] Tacitus, *Annals*, B. xiv.

[1] Idem, *Life of Agricola*. [2] Solinus, C. 22.

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The Gauls, called Cordistæ (Scordiscæ, or Scordisci), did not admit gold into their own country, but when they unjustly ravaged another, they did not leave it untouched, and, though they execrated gold, nor suffered it to be imported into their country, because for the sake thereof they had suffered many and grievous evils, they nevertheless used silver, and for the sake thereof, did not hesitate to perpetrate many and grievous villainies.[3]

[3] Athenæus, B. vi. These people, he says, were the remains of the Gauls, who, under the command of Brennus, attacked with arms the Delphic oracle. Those who survived Bathanatus, their leader, settled in the country, near to the Ister; and from him the way by which they returned they, also, now call *Bathanatus*. Agrippa, in Josephus, asks, "Are you richer than the Galatians? stronger than the Germans? wiser than the Greeks?" (*Jewish War*, B. ii, C. 16.)

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CHAP. XVII.

Of the architecture of the Celts.

THE transalpine Gauls had many cities and towns of considerable note, of which the following names are preserved by Cæsar: Agendicum, Alesia, Avaricum,[1] Bibracte, Bibrax, Bratuspantium, Decisé, Genabrum, Gergovia, Lutetia, Limo, Melodunum, Metiosedum, Narbo, Nemetocensia, Noviodunum, Octodurus, Samarobriva, Uxellodunum, Vellaudunum, Vesontio, Vienna. Others,

[1] "With the consent of all, in one day, more than twenty cities of the Bituriges were burned. It was deliberated, concerning Avaricum, in the common council, whether it pleased to burn or defend it? The Bituriges fell down at the feet of the Gauls; that they should not be forced with their own hands to set fire to a city, the most beautiful, nearly, of all Gaul, which was both a guard and an ornament to the state. "Easily," they said, "from the nature of the place, they were ready to defend themselves: because nearly on all parts surrounded by a river and a marsh, it had one and a very narrow entry." Leave was given to the petitioners; Vercingetorix, at first, dissuading, afterward yielding; both at their prayers and in compassion of the vulgar. Fit defenders were selected for the town. (*G. W.* B. vii. C. 14).

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as well in Gaul, as in foreign settlements inhabited by Celts, are mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy and other geographical writers. The terminations *dunum*, *durum*, and *bona*, in the name of a city, are regarded by Schoepflin as the infallible sign of a Celtic origin; as, for instance: *Autesodurum*, *Bragodurum*, *Ebodurum*, *Ectodurum*, *Vitudurum*; *Lugidunum*, *Meliodunum*, *Segodunum*; *Brigobona*, *Juliobona*, *Vindobona*, amongst many others of the same terminations: all in the Celtic territory or where Celts are known to have resided.[2]

Now all the Gallic walls have, for the most part, this form: beams straight, entire in length, at equal intervals, distant between themselves two feet, were placed upon the ground: these were bound fast toward the inside, and were covered with a thick mound: those, however, which we call intervals, were filled with stones. To these, laid and joined, another order was added; that the same interval might be preserved; neither did the beams touch each other, but intermitted by equal spaces, each to each, stones interjected, were contained by art. So, successively, every work was woven together,

[2] *Vindiciæ Celticæ*, p. 119. *Magus* is another; as *Argantomagus*, *Cæsaramagus*, *Noviomagus*, *Protomagus*, &c.

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until the just altitude of the wall was fulfilled. This, when into form and variety, was not a deformed work, the alternate beams and stones, which kept their own orders in straight lines; afterward, to the utility and defence of the cities, had the chief opportunity; because, both the stone defended it from the fire, and the timber from the ram; which bound fast by continued beams, for the most part inward, could neither be broken through nor drawn asunder.[3]

The deified Cæsar, when he had his army near the Alps, had commanded the cities to give him a safe conduct, and there was a fortified castle, which was called Larignum, then those who were in it, trusting to the natural fortification, would not yield to the empire. Therefore the emperor ordered his forces to be moved. Now there was before the gate of the castle a tower, from these materials: by alternate beams transverse (as a pyre), among them made high, that it was able, from the top, with stakes and stones, to repel

[3] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C. 22. Alesia and Gergovia were walled cities of great strength. From almost the mid hill in length, as the nature of the mount was made, of great stones, a wall of six feet, which was to retard our attack, the Gauls had run. (*Ibi*, C. 43.) The Cisalpine Gauls had no walled towns. (Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.)

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the approachers: then, truly, when it was observed that they had not any other weapons, except stakes, neither could they cast them far from the wall for the weight, it was commanded that the approachers should send small faggots bound of rods and burning torches to that fortification. Therefore the soldiers quickly threw them up. Afterward, a flame near those materials had taken the rods high up, which induced an opinion, that it should seem now the whole mass was destroyed. When, however, it was extinguished and at rest, and the tower appeared untouched, Cæsar wondering, ordered a throwing of darts to surround them without. Therefore, when the townsmen compelled by fear had surrendered themselves, it was enquired whence those woods were, which were not injured by the fire: then they demonstrated to him that those trees, of which in these places was very great plenty, and, therefore, that castle was called *Larignum*, also those materials, *Larigna*.[4]

The Nervians, long before [Cæsars time], when they were able to do nothing with their horse (for, says he, neither at this do they study that thing, but whatsoever they are able to do, are strong in foot;) whereby the more easily to

[4] Vitruvius, *Of architecture*, B. ii, C. 9.

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impede horse off the confines, if it should come for the sake of plunder; with young trees cut and bent, and thick in breadth with sprouted branches, and brambles and thorns interjected, had made it, in likeness of a wall: these hedges afforded fortifications which could by no mean be entered, nor even be looked into.[5]

Basil marched against Ambiorix, who was said to be in a certain place with a few horsemen. Much can fortune do as well in all things as in warfare: for as it happened by great accident that he fell upon him being incautious and unprepared, and before his arrival was seen by his men, which was brought by report and messengers: of so great fortune he was; every warlike weapon, which he had about himself, being snatched up; chariots and horses taken; himself to escape from death: but that was done so far as, in an edifice environed with a wood (as were, for the most part, the dwellings of the Gauls, who, for the sake of avoiding the heat, most commonly sought the neighbourhood of woods and rivers;) his companions and familiars, in a narrow place, for a little while, sustained the force of our horsemen: those fighting one of his

[5] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. 2, C. 17.

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people took him upon a horse: the woods covered the fugitive.[6]

The Gauls (at least the Belgs) constructed round houses of planks and hurdles, a great roof being imposed.[7] Their houses, likewise, were covered with straw.[8]

The Britons called a town, when they had fortified impassable woods with a wall and a ditch, whither, for the sake of avoiding the incursion of enemies, they were accustomed to assemble.[9] The

[6] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 28. [7] Strabo, B. iv, p. 195.

[8] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 35. Vitruvius says, *Of the origin of building*, "First, forked stakes being erected, and young twigs interposed, they covered the walls with clay. Others piled up clods of clay, binding them together with wood; and, to avoid the rain and heat, they covered it with reeds and a branched bough: afterward, forasmuch as, through the wintery storms, their roofs had not been able to sustain the showers, making ridge, they, by the inducted clay [and] declining roofs, carried down the drops. Those houses, however, from the description above written, were made, in their first beginning, from these things, like as in Gaul, Spain, Lusitain, [and] Aquitain, with oaken shingles and straw." *Of architecture*, B. ii, C. 1.

[9] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. , C. 17. See, also, Strabo, B. iv, page 200. Dio says, "Both [the Caledonians and Mæatæ] inhabit mountains the most rugged, and, wanting water; and also fields, deserted and full of marshes: neither have they castles nor towns (B. v, C. 17, p. 1280.) Cæsar does not men-

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town of Cassivellaun [prince of the Cassi or Cativellani, who had usurped the kingdom of the Trinobantes], was fortified by woods and marshes; whither a sufficiently great number of men and cattle was convened. Thither marched Cæsar with his legions: he found the place egregiously fortified by nature and art: the enemy having tarried a little while, could not bear the attack of the Roman soldiers, and cast themselves out of the other side of the town. Great was the number of cattle there found; and many in flight were apprehended and killed. The edifices were numerous, and, for the most part, consimilar to those of Gaul. They inhabited, however, vile cottages, covered, for the most part, with reeds and logs.[1]

tion the name of one single city or town of the Britons; and Tacitus, at a later period names no more than three: Camalodunum (Maldon), Londinium (London), and Verulamium (Verulam, near Saint Albans.)

[1] Diodorus Siculus, B. v, § 209 (Wesselings edition, I, 346.) Edward Williams, the Welsh bard, in a note to one of his beautiful poems (II, 19), makes Strutt, "from Diodorus Siculus," say, "that the Britons white-washed their houses with chalk," and even quotes his *Chronicle of England*, p. 254, adding, "hence it appears that the Welsh of Glamorgan still retain a very ancient custom." In fact, however, Diodorus Siculus says no such thing, nor does Strutt quote him to that effect.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Of the language and literature of the Celts, and their manner of computing time.

THE language of the Gauls was essentially different from that of the Germans[6] The Aquitani differed, in language, from the other Gauls: all the rest used the same speech, yet some had a certain difference.[7]

The speech of the Britons did not much vary from that of the Gauls.[8]

[6] This fact is manifest (amongst other testimonies) from the mention made by Cæsar of C. Valerius Probus, whose knowledge of the language of the Gauls, which Ariovistus, the German, by reason of a long stay in those parts, spoke readily, fitted him, in a peculiar manner, for an embassy to that chief. (*G. W.* B. i, C. 38.) The Belgæ, he says, Aquitani, and Celtæ, or Galli, all differed from each other [in language]: by which he must be understood to mean *dialect*. B. i, C1.

[7] Strabo, B. iii, p. 155. It has, however, been pretended, by a late writer, that the Belgæ did not speak the Celtic, but the Teutonic, language: falsehood being frequently necessary for system.

[8] Tacitus, *Life of Agricola*. The British tongue is generally admitted to be substantially the same with that which is spoken

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The Galatians, beside the Greek language, spoken by all the east, had the same proper tongue as the Treviri.[9]

The Gauls, in Cæsars time, made use of the Greek characters, which they had acquired of the Massilians.[1] After their reduction by the Romans,

by the present Welsh, who, according to their own account, have bardic compositions as old as the sixth century; the Irish and Armorican being, likewise, supposed to be different dialects thereof.

[9] St. Jerome, in his commentary upon the second epistle to the Galatians, in the proem. The Treviri were people of the city or neighbourhood of Belgic Gaul, and are frequently mentioned by Cæsar. This is an additional proof that the language of the *Belgæ* resembled that of the other Gauls, as the Galatians were certainly Celts, and probably not *Belgæ*. No genuine relic, however of the ancient Celtic is known to exist: the few words which have been preserved of it, will be found in the Appendix. *Rix* or *Orix*, was an ordinary termination in the name of a man, and *bona*, *dunum*, *durum*, and *maga*, in that of a city: but the practice of the Greeks and Romans to accommodate every other language to their own, has permitted very few genuine Gallic names or words to escape them.

[1] A roll was found in the Helvetian camp, written in Greek characters, (*tabulæ litteris Græcis confectæ*) and brought to Cæsar. It contained a list of all who had set out upon this expedition capable of bearing arms; likewise, of the children and old men. (*G. W.* B. i, C. 21.) He, at another time, engaged a Gaulish horseman, by the promise of great rewards, to carry a letter to Cicero. It was written in Greek characters (*Græcis conscriptam litteris*), that if it fell into the hands of the enemy, it might not

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they were easily persuaded to adopt more useful

be intelligible to him. (B. v, C. 40.) Since, however, it appears, both from what he says in B. 6, C. 13, *(Græcis litteris utantur)*, and from the above circumstance of the Helvetian muster-roll, that the Gauls made use of Greek *characters*, he must be understood to mean that the letter sent to Cicero was also written in the Greek *language;* otherwise it could not have been unintelligible to them. Dio, indeed, who almost copies Cæsar, writes expressly that he sent to Cicero Greek letters, that is, letters written in Greek. B. xl. The same observation must be extended to Strabo, who tells us that Massilia, having opened a grammar-school to the barbarians, had so far excited the study of Grecian literature (or Greek letters,) among the Gauls, that they wrote even the form of their contracts in Greek, (B. iv, p. 181); and, according to the same author, Ephorus, a more ancient writer, had said that the Gallic nation was studious of the Greeks; and, at a later period, Lucian, pretends that he met with a Gaul, in his own country, who spoke Greek in perfection (being, as he supposes, one of the philosophers, i. e. druids, of that nation.) Divitiacus, the Æduan, was both a druid, and a person of the first consequence in the state, and yet Cæsar, his particular friend, could only converse with him by means of interpreters. (B. i, C. 16.) After all, the knowledge of these characters, as well as the art of writing, was, apparently, confined to the druids, whose principles and practice were decidedly hostile to literature. The consequence of this is, that no composition, either by a Gaul, or in the Celtic language, not even a monumental inscription, exists at this moment, or was, in fact, ever heard of. Origen, in answer to an objection of Celsus, in which he had asserted that the Galactophagi of Homer, the druids of the Gauls, and

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things, and gave themselves to instruction and letters.[2]

They computed the time by nights, not by days; and, in the observance of birth-days, new moons, and the beginning of the year, always commenced the celebration from the preceding night.[3]

the Getes, most wise and ancient nations, held some things akin to the Jewish opinions, says, it is uncertain if any writings of those nations exist. (B. i.)

[2] Strabo, B. iv, p. 194.

[3] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vi, C. 16. He gives us a reason for this mode of computation their pretended descent from the god Dis. It is, nevertheless, well known that the Germans (as Tacitus observes), and many other nations, adopted the same method; and hence, in short, the *sennight*, and *fortnight*, (seven nights and fourteen nights) of the present English.

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CHAP. XIX.

Of the poetry and music of the Celts.

THE Celts, or Gauls, had, among them, poets, that sung melodious songs, whom they called *bards*, who, to their musical instruments, not unlike harps or lyres, chanted forth the praises of some, and the dispraises of others.[4] Those who either, of their own accord, were induced to follow the profession of a druid, or were sent by their parents and relations, were taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart.[5] These druids, or poets, are thus addressed by the divine Lucan:

> "You too, ye bards! whom sacred raptures fire,
> To chant your heros to your countrys lyre;

[4] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. "And verily," according to Ammianus Marcellinus, "the bards sung unto the sweet music of the harp the valorous deeds of worthy men composed in heroic verse." B. xv, C. 9. Strabo, likewise, who distinguishes the *bards* from the *prophets* or *vates*, and the *druids*, says "of these the bards sing hymns and are poets." (B. iv.) Men who had died honourably in war made the subject of the Celtic songs. (Ælian, B. xii, C. 23.)

[5] Cæsar, B. vi, C. 13.

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Who consecrate, in your immortal strain
Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain,
Securely now the tuneful task renew,
And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue."

The Celts, according to Posidonius, even when they went to war, carried with them table-companions, whom they called parasites; and by these their praises were to be proclaimed, as well in the crouded circles and assemblies of men, as with every one in private who chose to hear them; and these poets, he says, are the men called *bards*, who celebrated the praises of illustrious men, and of their patrons with songs.[6] In the suite of the ambassador from Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, to Cn. Domitius, the Roman general, upon the confines of the Salii, in the year of Rome 633, was a poet, who, in a barbarous song, chanted the praises, first of king Bituitus, next of the whole nation of the Allobroges, afterward of the ambassador himself, celebrating their virtue and riches.[7] Luerius, or Luernius, the son of this Bituitus (whom Posi-

[6] Athenæus, B. vi.

[7] Appian, *Celtics*, B. iv, Ex. 12. For this reason, he says, illustrious ambassadors were wont to take that kind of men along with them.

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donius calls Bittis, and who, according to Livy, or his epitomist, was king not of the *Allobroges*, but the *Arverni*, whose riches and liberality have been already mentioned,) having once appointed a day of banquetting, a certain barbarous (*i. e.* Celtic)[8] poet, coming later than the rest, ran to him, and, singing, celebrated his praises, and excellent virtues; but repined at, and lamented his own misfortune, in having arrived so late. He, delighted with the song, called for a bag of gold, and threw it to the singer, running before him; which having picked up, the poet, again reiterating his praises, affirmed that the vestiges of the chariot which he conducted produced gold and benefits to mankind.[9] The Scythians, Antropophagi, Melanchlæni, and Arimaspians, according to Julius Pollux, chiefly inflated the bones of

[8] The Greeks were accustomed to call all other nations *barbarous* and *barbarians*.

[9] Athenæus, B. 4 (from Posidonius, B. 23). Richard of Cirencester asserts that the bards of the Gauls were also common to the Britons (B. i, C. 4, § 14.) It must be confessed that the bards of the Welsh and Irish bear a strong resemblance to those of the ancient Celts. See Evans's *Dissertatio de bardis*, Jones's *Historical account of the Welsh bards*, Wares *Antiquities of Ireland*, Spensers *View* of the state of that country, Walkers *Memoirs of the Irish bards*, &c.

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eagles and vultures, in the manner of pipes; but the reedy syrinx, he says, best suited the Gauls, and islanders of the ocean.[1]

[1] B. iv, C. 10.

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CHAP. XX.

Of the exercises or diversions of the Celts.

THE Celtic hunters surrounded plains or mountain-thickets with their toils, so as to be certain of catching all the animals within the circumference thereof.[1] The Gauls had dogs engen-

[1] Pausanias, *Bœotics*, C. 21. He says that a wild beast, called *alce*, of a species between a stag and a camel, was found among the Gauls, and was the only wild beast known which could neither be hunted, nor foreseen at a distance by the human species: but the dæmon drove them into the hands of the hunter, while he was engaged in the pursuit of other wild beasts. If it happened that this animal was not in the part in which they had fixed their toils, they were unable to take it by any stratagem whatever. This animal is also mentioned by Cæsar, in his description of the Hercynian forest. It was shaped and spotted like a goat, but of larger size, without horns, or joints in the legs; that never lay down to sleep; nor could raise itself, if by accident overthrown. (*G. W.* B. vi, C. 25.) Pliny says the *alces* is very like a horse, but that his ears are longer, (B. viii, C. 15); and both he and Solinus (C. 20) agree that on account of the length of the upper lip he goes backward in feeding. It seems to be either the elk or the camelopard.

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dered by wolves; of which there were whole flocks in every chace and forest, that had for their guide, leader and captain, one particular dog or other, which they accompanied in hunting, obeyed, and were directed by; keeping an order among themselves of government and mastership.[2] No kind of dogs was equal in swiftness to those of the Celts.[3]

They tinged their arrows in hunting, sometimes, with a preparation, from the herb limeum, which they called harts-bane;[4] at others, with ellebore, and, cutting the wound round about, they affirmed, they found the flesh more tender.[5]

The Celtiberians, and those who were their neighbours to the north, worshipped a certain god not to be named, by dancing in the night of the full moon, with their whole families before their doors, and feasting all night.[6]

[2] Pliny, B. viii, C. 40. These were probably of the same species with the Irish wolf-dog.

[3] Arrian *Of hunting*, p. 191; Pelloutier, I, 460,

[4] Pliny, B. xxvii, C. 11.

[5] Pliny, B. xxv, C. 5. It would seem, however, that the flesh was cut out, in order to prevent the spreading of the poison. (See Aristotle, and Aulus Gellius, as quoted by Pelloutier, I, 457, 8.)

[6] Strabo, B. iii, p. 164.

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The exercise to which the Britons were most addicted, in Dios time, was that of robbing.[7]

They, however, had dogs, excellent in a natural faculty for hunting. The Gauls used in war as well these as their own.[8]

[7] Xiphilin, *in Severus.*

[8] Strabo, B. iv, page 199.

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CHAP. XXI.

Of the diet, and beverage, of the Celts; and their manners at table, and domestic economy.

THE food of the Gauls, for the most part, was milk, and flesh of every kind, chiefly pork, as well fresh as salted.[1] Those, however, who inhabited Pesinus (a city of Galatia) could not bear to touch swine.[2] Pannick was eaten in some parts of Gaul, and chiefly in Aquitain. In the country also, about the Po, it was a great

[1] Strabo, B. iv, p. 19. Bread, and that little, according to Athenæus, or Posidonius, was their food; much flesh, sodden in water, and roasted either upon coals or on spits. Their swine, he says, continued all night long in the fields, surpassing all others in size, strength and swiftness; and, to one unaccustomed to them, no less dangerous than a wolf.

[2] Pausanias, B. vii, C. 17. He absurdly supposes the reason to have been the death of one Attes, the son of a mother incapable of children, who, when he arrived at manhood, migrated to Lydia, and establishing there the orgies of the great mother, was so highly honoured by the goddess, that it excited the indignation of Jupiter, who sent a boar into the Lydian fields, by which other Lydians were destroyed, and Attes himself was slain: as if the Gauls knew, or cared for, either Attes or the great mother.

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feeding, so that there were beans in it; for without beans they knew not how to dress any thing for their daily food.[3] They served up, in their feasts, fishes which inhabit the rivers and shores of the interior and exterior sea (i. e. the mediterranean, and the ocean), and those roasted or boiled, with salt, vinegar, and cumin. Oil they did not use, because it was scarce with them; and because what is unusual appears unpleasant.[4] The Celtiberians lived upon all sorts of flesh, in great plenty. They were very nice and curious in their diet.[5] Those Celts toward the north, and bordering upon Scythia, were so exceeding fierce and cruel, that, as was reported, they ate men, like the Britons that inhabited Iris.[6]

At meal.time they all sat, not upon seats, but upon the ground, and, instead of carpets, spread

[3] Pliny, B. xviii, C. 10. See also Polybius, B. ii, C. 2.

[4] Athenæus, B. iv. [5] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2.

[6] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2. The Gauls, under Brennus, who sacked the city Callion, drank the blood and ate the flesh of such infants as the nutriment of milk had rendered in a thriving condition. (Pausanias, B. x, C. 22.) Critognatus, besieged in Alesia, proposed to the council of war, to follow the example of their ancestors, in the war with the Teutones and Cimbri, who, rather than surrender to their enemies, chose to sacrifice to their subsistence the bodies of those whom age incapacitated for war. (Cæsar, *G. W.* B. vii, C. 71.)

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wolves or dogs skins under them. Young boys and girls attended them, such as were yet but mere children. Near at hand they had their chimnies, with their fires well furnished with pots and spits, full of whole joints of flesh-meat; and the best and fairest joints, in a way of due honour and regard, they set before persons of the best quality.[7]

The Celts never shut the doors of their houses;[8] they would invite strangers to their feasts; and, after all was over, ask who they were, and what was their business.[9]

In the very midst of their feasting, upon any small occasion, it was ordinary for them to rise in a heat, and, without any regard of their lives, to fall to it with their swords.[1]

The manner of life of the Cisalpine Gauls was extremely plain and simple. They had no kind of furniture in their hamlets. The ground was their constant bed;[2] and they slept on the grass or straw.[3]

[7] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2. Strabo says, that even in his time, most of them took their meat sitting upon rush beds.

[8] Agathias, B. i, p. 13. [9] Diodorus, B. 5, C. 10.

[1] Diodorus, B. v, C. 2.

[2] Polybius, B. ii, C. 2. To lie upon the ground, according to Strabo, was common to the Iberians as well as the Gauls, (B. iii, p. 164): most of the Gauls in his time lay on the

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The Celtiberians had a very sordid and filthy practice: they used to wash their whole bodies over with urine, and rub their very teeth with it; which was accounted a certain mean of health to their bodies.[4]

The greater part of the Britons, within the country, never sowed their lands, but lived on flesh and milk.[5] They never ate fish, though they had great plenty of it.[6] They, likewise, thought it unlawful to taste a hare, a hen, and a goose: yet they nourished these animals for the sake of their fancy and pleasure. There was not, at the same time, a daintier dish known in Britain, than the chenerotis, a bird less than a goose.[7] When in the woods, they fed upon roots and

ground (B. iv, p. 197.) They were accustomed to lie on the ground on the skins of beasts. (Diodorus, B. v, C. 2; Athenæus, B. xiii, C. 18.)

[3] Polybius, as above.

[4] Strabo mentions this as a practice of the Cantabrians, and adds, that it was common also to the Celts and Iberians. They preserved the urine in cisterns, and both they and their wives, not only washed themselves, but cleansed their teeth with it. (B. iii, p. 164.)

[5] Cæsar, *G. W.* B. v, C. 10. They have neither walls nor towns, nor manured lands, says Dio, but feed upon the milk of their flocks, what they get by hunting, and certain wild fruits.

[6] Xiphilin, *under Severus.*

[7] Pliny, B. x, C. 22.

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leaves. They, also, made a certain food which so agreeably supported the spirits, that, having taken the quantity of a bean, they no longer felt hunger or thirst.[8] They were contented with plain and homely fare; strangers to the excess and luxury of rich men: and were so accustomed to bear hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships, that they would run into morasses up to the neck, and live several days without eating.

The natives of Iris, or Hibernia, as hath already appeared from Diodorus, used to eat men. Of this country, says Strabo, I have nothing certain which I can say, unless that its inhabitants are more rural than the Britons, who, likewise, eat human flesh, and devour a very great quantity of food, and think it decent to eat the dead bodies of their relations:[1] and Solinus, who

[8] Xiphilin, *as above*. It was probably of something with the qualities of opium; perhaps, the common poppy.

[9] Idem. *ibi*. The greatest advantage, says Bonduca, we have over the Romans is that they cannot like us bear hunger or thirst, or cold or heat. They cannot subsist without fine bread, wine, and oil; whereas we can easily live without them: every herb and root supplies the want of bread to us; every liquor that of oil; water, that of wine; every tree the want of a house or abode. (Idem, *in Nero*.)

[1] B. iv, p. 201.

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terms the country *inhumana incolarum ritu aspero*, asserts, that the victors besmeared their faces with the blood of the slain before they drank it.[2] St. Jerome, also, relates that he himself, when a boy, or very young man, in Gaul, saw the Scots, a British nation, eat human flesh; and adds, that when in forests, they found herds of swine, or other cattle, they used to cut off the buttocks of the herdsmen, and breasts of the women, and reckoned these the only dainties.[3]

The inhabitants of the Hebrides were ignorant of corn, and lived on flesh and milk. Those of Thulé, in the beginning of spring, lived on the same food with their cattle, afterward on milk. In winter they ate the fruits of trees.[4]

The excessive cold and immoderate temper of the air being the cause why the earth in Celtica produced neither wine nor oil, the Gauls, to supply the want of these fruits, made a drink of barley, which they called *xythus*.[5] They, likewise, mixed their honeycombs with water, and made use of that for the same purpose.[6] They

[2] C. 22.

[3] Against Jovian, B. ii. [4] Solinus, C. 22.

[5] Ammianus, who calls them a nation greedily given to wine, says they affected to make sundry sorts of drink resembling wine. (B. xv, C. 12.)

[6] The drink of the Celtiberians was made of honey, their

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were so immoderately given to wine, that they guzzled it down as soon as it was imported by the merchant; and were so eager and inordinate, that, making themselves drunk, they either fell dead asleep, or became stark mad.[7] So that many Italian merchants, to gratify their own covetousness, made use of the drunkenness of the Gauls to advance their own profit and gain. For they conveyed the wine to them both by navigable rivers, and by land, in carts, and brought back an incredible price; for, in lieu of a hogshead of wine, they received a boy; giving drink in exchange for a servant.[8] The rich

country abounding therewith; but they bought wine also of the merchants that trafficked thither. (Diodo. B. v, C. 2.)

[7] This intemperance of the Gauls was occasionally productive of fatal consequences. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, having come with an army before Panormus, and plenty of wine being brought into the camp by the merchants, the Celtæ (or Gauls, in his pay) made themselves drunk; and while they were roaring and tearing, and filling all places with disorder and confusion, Cæcilius, the consul, broke in upon them, and totally routed them. (Diodo. B. xxxiii, *frag.*)

[8] Diodo. B. v, C. 2. The true cause, no doubt, why the Gauls had neither wine nor oil (of which their successors produce so much) was not because the climate was unfavourable to the growth of the vine or olive, but because they never tried the experiment by planting or cultivating either. We find, says Pliny, in old chronicles, that the Gauls took occasion

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Celts drank wine, fetched either out of Italy, or from the territory of the Massilians; and that pure or unmixed, occasionally pouring in a very little water. Many called this *Dercoma*. They likewise, threw salt, vinegar, and cumin, which they used with their fish, into their drink. Ale and beer, also, and many other sorts of drink were made of corn in Gaul.[2]

The Britons had a species of drink which they called *Alica*.[3]

The Celts offered their libations upon wooden tables, raised a little above the ground, which was covered with hay. These tables were

first to come down into Italy, and to overspread the whole country, because one Elico a Helvetian, who had made long abode in Rome, at his return home into his own country, brought over with him dry figs and raisins, the first fruits, also as it were, of oil and wine for a taste to set their teeth a watering. (B. xii, C. 1.) According, however, to Livy, the report was that this nation, charmed with the delicious taste of the fruits, and especially with the wines of Italy, which they had never tasted before; passed the Alps; and that Arunx, a Clusinian, who, in resentment of his wifes being debauched by Lucumo, who had been his pupil, and upon whom, because of his great interest, he could not get a just punishment inflicted, carried wine into Gaul, to entice that nation to invade the country. (B. v, C. 33.) See also Plutarch, in the life of Camillus, who calls him *Arron*, as Livy himself, in another place, does *Aruns*.

[2] Pliny, B. xxii, C. 25. [3] Idem.

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brought in neat and clean; but they would take up entire joints, with both hands, after the manner of lions, and tear them in pieces with their teeth; and, if any part were too difficult to pull asunder, they would cut it with a little knife, which, covered with a sheath, and laid up in a particular place, was near at hand. Many guests, at supper, if they could agree, would sit down in a circle. In the midst was the seat of the most worthy, as it were the prince of the assembly, of him, that is, who excelled the rest, either in martial dexterity, in nobility of race, or in riches. Near him sat the founder of the feast; and the rest on both sides, one after another, according to their honour or excellence. Behind the guests stood some who, for arms, bore pendent shields; but the spear-men sat opposite, in a circle; and both took meat with their lords. The cup-bearers served drink in vessels like pots, either earthen or silver.[a] Of the same materials, also, were the pots in which they brought up the victuals, though some were of brass; and some,

[a] They occasionally used cups made of their enemies sculls, ornamented with gold. Thus Silius:

"At Celtæ vacui capitis circumdare gaudent
Ossa (nefas) auro et mensis ea poclua servant."
(L. 13, V. 482).

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in the stead of pots, used wooden baskets woven with wicker.[3] A boy bore round the cups on the right and left hand: so he ministered to them. They sipped leisurely out of these cups, not more than a glassful, frequently tasting. The Celts, sometimes, after supper, engaged in sword-play. Those that were armed would challenge each other to friendly combat; in which they only joined their extended hands, and the points of their swords, with mutual forbearance. Sometimes the matter would proceed to wounds; and then they, being irritated, unless those who were present interfered and hindered them, would fight to death. In former times, also, the manner among them was, that the limbs of cattle being laid down, the stoutest of them would take up the thigh; and, if any other would challenge it, they would fight with swords, till one of the two was killed.

Posidonius, recounting the riches of Luernius, who was the father of Bittis, who was defeated by the Romans,[4] represents him, hunting after

[3] The Celts, according to Strabo, used waxen vessels, like the Lusitanians. (B. iii, p. 155.)

[4] Strabo calls them *Luerius* and *Bituitus*. The latter was king of the *Allobroges* (as Appian says, but, according to Livy's epitomist, of the *Arverni*) and was defeated by Fabius Max-

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popular favour, accustomed to drive through the fields in his chariot, and to throw about gold and silver among the numberless crowds of Celts who followed him: yea, and that he once walled-in a square inclosure of twelve furlongs, in which were ponds of costly and exquisite liquor, and store of victuals ready dressed, that, for many days together, it should be free to all who chose to enter, and enjoy that preparation, with the assiduous offices of servants.[5]

It was the custom, among the Galatians, to put many loaves, broken in pieces, upon their tables, and flesh out of the cauldron; which, however, no man was to meddle with, till he perceived that the king had tasted every thing that was brought up. Ariamnes, a very rich Galatian, promised all the Galatians to be their entertainer for a whole year; which he performed in this manner: he divided the most commodious ways of the provinces of that country into days journeys, and, with reeds, poles, and the willow, erected pavilions, which would hold three

imus, at the conflux of the Isar and the Rhone; and, by Domitius, at that of the Rhone and the Salig. (See Florus, B. iii, C. 2; and epitome of Livy, B. lxi.)

[5] Athenæus, B. iv, (from Posidonius, B. xxiii). See, also, Strabo, B. iv.)

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hundred men, or even more, that the multitude, pouring together from the towns and villages, might be commodiously received: there he placed great cauldrons, full of all sorts of flesh, which, in the preceding year, he had taken care to get fabricated, by artificers procured from the towns. Every day he immolated many sacrifices, bulls, swine, sheep and other cattle; many measures of corn he provided, and much barley-flour, all ready kneaded; and this abundance of things he wished to be enjoyed not only by those who came from the cities and country-towns, but by strangers passing by, whom the servants, superintending that business, would not dismiss before they had been partakers of the feast.[6]

[6] Idem, *ibi.* (from Phylarchus, B, iii.)

THE END.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

Of the Hyperboreans.

ARISTEAS, a poet of Proconnesus, and son to Caustrobius, says in his verses, as we are told by Herodotus, that he was transported by Apollo into the territories of the Issedonians; beyond which the Arimaspians inhabit, who are a people that have but one eye; that the next region abounds in griffins, which guard the gold of the country;[1] and that the Hyperboreans are situate yet further, and extend themselves into the sea: that all these, except the Hyperboreans, were continually employed in making war upon their

[1] This is the fable to which Milton alludes in the 2d book of his *Paradise lost*:

> "As when a gryfon through the wilderness
> With winged course ore hill or moarie dale,
> Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stelth
> Had from his wakeful custody purloined
> The guarded gold."

Mr. Fuseli, who represents this pursuit in one of his Miltonic paintings, gives the Arimaspian *two eyes*.

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neighbours.[2] Concerning the Hyperboreans, nothing, according to Herodotus, was said either by the Scythians, or any other nations that inhabited those parts, except the Issedonians: and as he thought they said little to the purpose, so he was of opinion the Scythians could inform us no better than they have done of the people with one eye. Hesiod indeed, he adds, mentions the Hyperboreans, and Homer speaks of them in his *Epigones*,[3] if we may believe him to have been the author of those verses. But the Delians, he continues, say much more about the Hyperboreans; affirming that their sacred things were transmitted to Scythia wrapped in a bundle of wheat-straw, and from the Scythians gradually advanced through the bordering nations; till they penetrated very far westward, and were received in Adria: that from hence they travelled toward the south, and that the Dodonæans were the first of all the Grecians who admitted them: that by this way they descended to the gulph of Melis; passed into Eubœa, and from thence, through various cities, to Carystus: that the Carystians transported them to Tenus, and the

[2] B. iv. He gives a curious account of this poet, who lived in the times of Crœsus and Cyrus, about 550 years before Christ. [3] Now lost.

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Tenians to Delos.[4] They add, that the Hyperboreans had first sent two virgins to carry these sacred things abroad, and call them by the names of Hyperoche and Laodice: that for their security they appointed five citizens to accompany them, whose memory, he says, is to this day in great veneration among the Delians, and their persons known by the title of *Peripherees:* but the Hyperboreans, finding that none of those they had charged with these orders returned home, were

[4] Porphyry mentions that there were formerly in Delos certain venerable monuments of the Hyperboreans offering bundles of straw (meaning, perhaps, pictures, in which they were so represented.) (B. ii.) Pausanias relates that among the Prasienses there was a temple of Apollo, to which, they reported, the first fruits of the Hyperboreans were sent. For the Hyperboreans, he says, commit them to the Arimaspi, the Arimaspi to the Issedonians: the Scythians, receiving them from these, carry them to Sinope; from thence they are carried by the Greeks to the Prasienses; and lastly, the Athenians send them to Delos. But these first fruits, he adds, are concealed in stalks of wheat: and it is not lawful for any one to behold them. (B. i, C. 31.) This ancient custom is even noticed by Claudian:

"Progenies Scythiæ, divas nemorumque potentes,
Fecit *Hyperboreis Delos* prælata pruinis."

In Iau. Sti. pa. III.

These *first-fruits* were parts of the victim sacrificed. See Salmasius's *Exercitations*, p. 147.

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greatly displeased, and tying up their holy things in a bundle of wheat-straw, dispatched certain persons to carry them into the next adjacent countries, and to exhort the inhabitants to send them forward to other nations. These Hyperborean virgins died in Delos, and their memory was honoured by the Delian maids and young men in this manner: the maids cut off a lock of their hair before marriage, which they wound upon a distaff, and dedicated upon the sepulchre of those virgins, built within the temple of Diana on the left hand of the entrance, and covered by an olive-tree. The young men twisted their hair about a tuft of grass and consecrated it on the same monument. They likewise say, continues the venerable author, that Argis and Opis, two other Hyperborean virgins, landed at Delos in the same age, before Hyperoche and Laodice: that these last came only to make an acknowledgement for a speedy delivery; but that Argis and Opis arrived with the gods, and were honoured by the Delians with great solemnities:[5] and this

[5] Some of these females appear to be mentioned by Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos:

—— "from the subject world primitial tenths
Are sent to Delos: while each pious state
Unites with sacred joy to celebrate

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he adds, I think sufficient to say concerning the Hyperboreans: for I shall not mention the fable

The gen'ral feast; states flowing from each clime
Of the well-peopled globe, from east and west,
From Arctic and Antarctic pole—where heav'n
The virtue of the habitants rewards
With length of days: these to the Delian god
Begin the grand procession; and in hand
The holy sheaves and mystic offerings bear;
Which the Pelasgians, who the sounding brass
On earth recumbent at Dodona guard,
Joyous receive, and to the Melians care
The hallow'd gifts consign: whence o'er the fields
Lelantian pass'd to fair Eubœas shores
At length arrived a ready passage wafts
The consecrated off'ring to the shrine
Of Delian Apollo. Of the north
(Chill Boreas' climes, the Arimaspians seat)
The loveliest daughters, *Hecaërge* bless'd,
Bright *Upis*, and fair *Loxo*, with a choir
Of chosen youth accompany'd, first brought
The grateful sheaves and hallow'd gifts to Phœbus;
Thrice happy throng, ordain'd no more to see
Their native north, but ever flourish fair
In fame immortal, servants of their god!
The Delian nymphs, whom to the nuptial bed
Midst melting music Hymen gently leads
Trembling with am'rous fear, their votive locks
To these bright daughters of the north consign:
And to the sons the bridegrooms consecrate
The virgin harvest of their downy chins."

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of Abaris, who, they say, was of that country, and, without eating, carried upon an arrow through all the parts of the world.[6] Yet if there be any Hyperboreans, lying so far to the northward, we may as well presume there are other Hyperaustralian people inhabiting to the southward.[7]

Amongst those that have written old stories, much like fables, Hecatæus[8] and some others

[6] Abaris was priest of Apollo among the Hyperboreans. Riding about on his arrow, he became acquainted with Pythagoras, who, showing his golden thigh, passed himself upon him for the Hyperborean Apollo, as he was afterward called by the Crotoniats. See the Lives of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Jamblichus; and Ælians *Various history*, B. ii, C. 26.

[7] B. iv. See Strabos remarks on this last sentence, B. i, p. 61. Those, he says, are called Hyperboreans, who are the northmost of all: beside, the pole is the limit of the northern people, the equinoctial of the southern; and the same is the limit of the winds. Damastes, an author contemporary with Herodotus, and cited by Stephen of Byzantium, says that the Issedons are on this side of the Riphæan mountains whence the wind of Boreas continually blows, and which are always covered with snow; that, in short, beyond these mountains are the Hyperboreans, who extend to the icy sea.

[8] A most ancient, but unquestionably fabulous, historian, mentioned by Herodotus, who says he wrote a volume about the Hyperboreans, for which, it would seem, he was indebted to Aristeas Proconnesius, who feigned the subject by poetic licence.

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say, that there is an island in the ocean, over against Gaul, as big as Sicily, under the arctic pole,[1] where the Hyperboreans inhabit, so called because they lie beyond the breezes of the north wind: that the soil here is very rich, and very fruitful; and the climate temperate, insomuch that there are two crops in the year. They say that Latona was born here; and, because they are daily singing songs in praise of this god, and ascribing to him the highest honours, they say that these inhabitants demean themselves as if they were Apollos priests, who has there a stately grove, and renowned temple of a round form, beautified with many rich gifts: that there is a city, likewise, consecrated to this god, whose citizens are most of them harpers, who, playing on the harp, chant hymns to Apollo in the temple, setting forth his glorious acts. The Hyperboreans use their own natural language; but, of long and ancient time, have had a special kindness for the Grecians, and more especially for the Athenians and those of Delos: and [they say] that some of the Grecians passed over to the

[1] This description suits no island but Britain, or Ireland, of which Hecatæus, or Aristeas, may have had some confused notion; but of which Herodotus, a later writer, knew nothing at all.

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Hyperboreans, and left behind them divers presents, inscribed with Greek characters;[2] and that Abaris formerly travelled thence into Greece, and renewed the ancient league of friendship with the Delians. They say, moreover, that the moon in this island seems as if it were near to the earth, and represents in the face of it excrescences like spots in the earth: and that Apollo once in nineteen years comes into this island;[3] in which space of time the stars perform their courses, and return to the same point; and therefore the Greeks call the revolution of nineteen years the great year. At this time of his appearance, they say, he plays upon the harp, and sings and dances all the night, from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleïades, solacing himself with the praises of his own successful adventures. The sovereignty of this city, and the care of the temple, they say, belongs to the

[2] Solinus, as a proof that Ulysses had landed in the north of Britain, mentions an altar remaining there in his time, with a Greek inscription.

[3] This tradition is alluded to by the poet Claudian:

"—— when fair Apollo,
His Delphos left, views Hyperborean altars."

Pa. on the 6th con. of Honorius.

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Boreades, the posterity of Boreas, who hold the principality in a direct line from that ancestor.[4]

Pindar affirms that Hercules "the darksome olive,"

"From distant Scythias fruitful soil,
And Hyperborean Isters woody shore,
With fair entreaties gain'd, to Grecian Elis bore."[5]

He observes, likewise, that

"—— We strive in vain
To pass the bounds to man assign'd by heaven;
Like those who, trusting to a faithless ship
Through roaring seas, and o'er the measur'd deep,
Seek for the happy Hyperborean coast,
In fruitless schemes of wild ambition lost."

This observation serves to introduce the following story:

"Guided by Minervas power,
To those fair realms arrived in happy hour
The godlike Perseus, and beheld the feast;
Whole hecatombs of victims slain,
A grateful offering at Apollos fane;
The hero join'd the throng, a much delighted guest.
....
Nor did the joy-inspiring muse
To this blest race her happy aid refuse,
But choral virgins moved along,
With laurel crown'd their waving hair,
Raising, with voices sweet, the sacred song,
Or touching, with their fingers fair,

[4] Diodo. B. ii, C. 3. [5] *Olym.* 3.

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The lyres sublimer chords, to suit
The shriller music of the Dorian flute.
In feasts and songs thus pass the hours away,
No feeble age reminds them of decay,
Exempt from toil, from penury, and pain,
And dire disease, and Horrors gloomy train;
Secure from proud Ambitions baneful breath,
From war, and all the ministers of Death.

To arts of innocence and virtue bred,
Avenging Nemesis they never dread!
Breathing heroic ardour, hither came
The son of Danaë, by Minervas hand
Conducted to the heights of Fame.
She made him join the generous band,
Inspired his soul with matchless might,
To meet the Gorgon race in fight,
And slay Medusa!——"[6]

Orpheus of Crotona, in his *Argonautics* thus introduces the Hyperboreans:

"Thence under th' ends o' th' north, through passage straight
Hurry'd our Argo toward the ocean slides,
We leave, on either hand, nations unknown,

[6] *Pythian* 10. "It appears from the scholiast on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians *Boreans*: there is therefore (says Larcher) great probability that they called the people beyond these *Hyperboreans*." Taylors *Pausanias*, III., 254. The Thracians seem to have obtained the name of Boreans from Boreas, the ravisher of Orythia, who lived in the country of the Cicones. See *Hym. Orphicus* (79) *in Boream*, V. 2; and Ovids *Metamor.* vi, 709.

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Named Pacton, Arcteion, and Lelians fierce,
And warlike Scythians, souls to Mars devoted;
The Hyperboreans, too, and Caspian bounds:
And when the goddess the bright day has brought,
Riphæan vales we touch; thence unawares
The ship shoots forth by th' shores o' th' narrow sea,
And ocean enters the *Saturnian* sea,
By Hyperborean nations call'd, and *dead*.

Of the Hyperboreans, who live a thousand years, it is observed by Strabo, that Onesicritus says they tell the same things which Simonides, and Pindar, and other writers of fables had said.[7]

The Caspians, says Pomponius Mela, next to the Scythians surround the Caspian bay. Beyond the Amazons, and beyond them the Hyperboreans are mentioned to be.[8] After finishing the description of Sarmatia, he proceeds with that of Scythia: thence the confines of Asia, unless where perpetual snows rest, and intolerable cold, the Scythic people inhabit, almost all likewise called by one name *Belcæ*. On the Asiatic coast first of all, beyond the north wind and the Riphæan mountains,[9] under the very pole

[7] B. xv, p. 711. He seems to consider the Riphæan mountains and Hyperboreans as imagined, from ignorance of those parts. (B. vii, p. 295.)

[8] B. i, C. 2.

[9] These rise in almost the middle of Muscovy, upon the

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of the stars, lie the Hyperboreans: where the sun not daily as with us, but at first risen in the vernal equinox, finally sets in the autumnal, and therefore, for six months is continual day, and for as many, night. The land is 'rich,' warm, and fertile of itself. The inhabitants most just; and live longer and more happily than any other mortals. For, always enjoying festive ease, they know no wars, no quarrels: employed in sacred things, chiefly in those of Apollo: their first-fruits they are reported to have sent to Delos at first by their virgins, afterward by the people of different nations, they thereupon delivering them to those further off, and to have observed the custom so long till it was violated by the depravity of nations. They inhabit groves and woods; and when satiety of living rather than irksomeness hath taken them, cheerful, crowned with garlands, they precipitate themselves into the sea from a certain rock. This to them is a choice funeral.[1]

sources of the Tanais (or Don); between it and the river Rham, or Volga. For the Tanais breaks out of the Riphæan mountain, witness Mela, B. i, C. 19, *Harduin*. Protarchus says that the Alps bear likewise the name of the Riphæan mountains, and that the people who inhabit at the foot of those Alps are called Hyperboreans. (Stephen of Byzantium.)

[1] B. iii, C. 5.

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Next to Buges, says Pliny, above Mæotis, are the Sauromatæ (Sarmatians) and Essedones. But along the coast, as far as the Tanais, are the Mæotæ, from whom the lake took its name: and the last on the back of these are the Arimaspians. In the next place are the Riphæan mountains, and a region called Pterophoros, from the continual fall of feathers:[2] a part of the world condemned by the nature of things, and immersed in thick darkness: neither any thing but cold, and the icy receptacles of the north wind. Behind these mountains, and beyond the north wind, a happy nation (if we believe [what is told us]), whom they have called Hyperboreans, lives to a very old age, and is celebrated by fabulous wonders. These are believed to be the poles of the

[2] "Touching the feathers," says Herodotus, "with which the Scythians say the air is filled that men can neither see nor pass further upon the continent, my opinion is that perpetual snows fall in those parts, for snow is not unlike feathers." (B. iv.) Ovid, indebted to some earlier authority than Pliny, has found a good use for these feathers:

"A race of men there are, as fame has told,
Who, shiv'ring, suffer Hyperborean cold,
'Till, nine times bathing in Minerva's lake,
Soft feathers, to defend their naked sides they take."
Meta. B. xv.

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world, and the extreme circuits of the stars, there being six months light, and one day, when the sun turns his back: not, as unskilful persons[3] have said from the vernal equinox till autumn. Once a year, in the solstice, the sun riseth with them, and once, in winter, it setteth. A sunny region, of a happy temperature, free from every noxious blast.[4] Their habitations are woods and groves; the worship of the gods is both singly and in companies; discord and all sickness are unknown. Death only comes from satiety of life; feasted with old age and good cheer, they leap off a certain rock into the sea. This kind of sepulture they reckon most blessed. Some have placed them in the first part of the sea-coasts of Asia, not in Europe, because there are some of like customs and situation with the name of Attacori. Others have supposed them in the midway between either sun, the setting one of the Antipodes, and ours rising: which can in no wise be, so vast a sea intervening. Those who have placed them nowhere but in the six months

[3] P. Mela, *supra*.

[4] The nation of the *Attaci*, or *Attacori*, secluded from every noxious blast, by sunny hills, live in the same temperature as the Hyperboreans. Of those, Amometus wrote a volume, as did Hecatæus, of the Hyperboreans. (B. vi, C. 17.)

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light, have reported that they sow in the morning, reap at noon, at sun-set gather the fruit of trees, and by night are shut up in caves. Neither may one doubt of this nation, since so many authors relate that they were wont to send the first-fruits of their corn unto Delos to Apollo, whom they principally worship. Virgins carried them, who for some time were reverenced by the hospitality of nations; until, faith being violated, they resolved to deposit the sacred things in the nearest marches of their neighbours, and these to convey them to those who bordered upon them, and so as far as Delos. By and by, and even this became obsolete.[5]

Now all the interior parts of Asia, says the same author, being described, let the mind pass over the Riphæan mountains, and walk along the right coast of the ocean. From the extreme north to the beginning of the summery east are the Scythians. Without them, and beyond the beginnings of the north, some have placed the Hyperboreans, described by more in Europe.[6]

Heraclides of Pontus, who lived not long after

[5] B. vi, C. 12.

[6] B. iv, C. 12. These things, in which he is followed by Solinus, he appears to have had from Hecatæus, of whom before. The *Macrobians* of the Argonauts resemble, in many respects, the *Hyperboreans* of Pliny.

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the time that Rome was taken by the Gauls, in his book *Of the soul*, related that a certain report came from the west, that an army proceeding from the Hyperboreans had taken a Greek city called Rome, seated somewhere upon the great sea. But I do not wonder, adds Plutarch, that such a fabulous and bombast author as Heraclides should embellish his account of the taking of Rome with such high-flown words as *Hyperboreans* and *great sea*.[7]

Suidas explains Hyperborei to be a nation far north, and dwelling beyond the Scythæ.

Marcianus Heracleota says, beyond the river Chesunus, is the Hyperborean and unknown ocean, contiguous to the Hyperborean and unknown country: but the river Chesunus and Turuntas flow down out of the mountains lying above, which are called the Riphæan mountains, lying in the mediterranean parts, between the Palus Mæotis and the Sarmatic ocean.[8]

[7] *Life of Camillus* [8] *Periplus*, ii.

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APPENDIX.

No. II.

Of the Cimmerians.

THE Cimmerians are first of all mentioned by Homer, in the eleventh book of the Odyssey. The passage, in Popes translation, is as follows:

" Now sunk the sun from his aërial height,
And o'er the shaded billows rush'd the night:
When lo! we reach'd old Oceans utmost bounds,
Where rocks controll his waves, with ever-during mounds.
There, in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells;
The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
When, radiant, he advances or retreats;
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades."

Homer, as Strabo has remarked, knew the Cimmerian bosphorus, and the Cimmerians themselves, not the name only of those, who, in his own time, or a little before, from the bosphorus made incursions into all the regions as far as Ionia. The climate also of the region which the Cimmerians inhabited he intimates by myste-

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rious, that is to say, obscure expressions.[1] Even also when he knew the Cimmerians to inhabit at the bosphorus, places toward the north and west, he has placed them in the shades below: although, perhaps, he followed in this the common custom of the Ionians in speaking of them: for either in the age of Homer, or a little before, the Cimmerians proceeded, in a hostile manner, as far as Ionia and Æolis.[2]

Dionysius Periegetes, having mentioned the Palus Mæotis, about which he says, on either

[1] B. i, p. 6.

[2] B. iii, p. 149; also B. i, p. 120. "The first celebrated Grecian writer who had any knowledge of the north, though that was but imperfect, was Homer. He speaks of the Cimmerians, who live in constant darkness. This is, undoubtedly, an error, for the Cimmerians did not live in Italy; but in the Crim, and beyond that in Russia, where the nights in winter are very long, which gave rise to this fable." (Forsters *History of the voyages and discoveries made in the north*, p. 14.) Homer, at the same time, does not say that the Cimmerians lived in Italy, but at the utmost bounds of the ocean, which agrees better with their real situation. He has, indeed, placed in Cimmeria the passage to hell, which Virgil fixes at the lake Avernus, where, in fact, the ancients believed that Homer had described Ulysses as conversing with the dead, and Ephorus, a fabulous writer, places the Cimmerians. See Strabo, B. v. 244; and *An enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*, p. 269.

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side, the Scythians, a numberless people, inhabit, and which they call the mother of Pontus, adds, for thereout is drawn the immense water of Pontus right through the Cimmerian bosphorus; at which many Cimmerians inhabit, under the cold foot of Taurus.[3]

Pliny places the Cimmerians, along with the Scythians, Cisianthians, Georgians, and the nation of the Amazons, beyond the Arimphæi, who inhabited at the fall and descent of the Riphæan mountains. These, he adds, reach as far as the Caspian, and Hyrcanian sea.[4]

Orpheus of Crotona, author of the *Argonautics*, speaks of the country of the Cimmerians to this effect:

——————— then to the shore
Of the Cimmerians our swift ship we drive,
These pass the year deprived of Phœbus light;
For the Riphæan mount, and Calpian top,
Avert the rising sun, a mist most dense,
Arising from the midst, spreads out vast shades
Till day, and (all immersed in constant darkness)
Of every sun the rays they take away.

Æschylus, in his tragedy of *Prometheus chained*, makes him say to Io, in the shape of a cow:

[3] V. 166, &c.

[4] B. vi, C. 12. He is followed by Solinus; though it is scarcely possible there really was such a people in those parts in the time of either.

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——— "this female train
With courteous zeal shall guide thee in thy way.
Arriving where the dark *Cimmerian lake*
Spreads from its narrow mouth its vast expanse,
Leave it, and boldly plunge thy vent'rous foot
On the *Mæotic straits;* the voice of fame
Shall eternize thy passage, and from thee
Call it the *Bosphorus*——"

Cimmericum, according to Strabo, was formerly a city lying in a peninsula, shutting up the isthmus with a ditch and a mound. Great was at one time, he adds, the power of the Cimmerians in the Bosphorus, which from them also was called *Cimmerian*.[5] He, however, ranks *Cimmeris*, a city, he says, of Hecatæus,[6] with the Riphæan mountains, and other fabulous relations.[7]

[5] B. xi, p. 494. Now *the straits of Caffa*, or *Jenicale*, between the sea of Azof (formerly *Palus Mæotis*,) and the Black sea (formerly the Euxine, or *Pontus Euxinus*.) Mela, also, places it in the very mouth of the marsh Pontus. (B. i, C. 19.)

[6] A fabulous writer, mentioned by Herodotus.

[7] B. vii, p. 299. This last city is mentioned by both Scylax and Scymnus; the former says, it presented itself to one going from the lake Mæotis; and the other, it was situate at the mouth of the Tanais, and both agree that it was so named by the Cimmerians, but built by the Bosphoran tyrants. Aristotle, cited by Stephanus, had said, in a historical work, of which we have no more than some shreds, that these people had given the name of Cimmeris to *Antandros*, a city situated at the foot of Mount Ida, at the bottom of the gulf of

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The Scythian Nomades, according to Herodotus, were once inhabitants of Asia, and being harassed by the Massagetes with frequent wars, they passed the river Araxes,[8] and entered the country of the Cimmerians, who were the ancient possessors of those regions which are now, he says, inhabited by the Scythians. The Cimmerians, finding themselves invaded by the Scythians with a numerous army, assembled in council, but could not come to any agreement, because the kings and the people were of different sentiments; both founded upon strong reasons, though that of the kings was the more generous. For the people were of opinion to abstain from force, and not put all to hazard against so great a multitude. But the kings, on the contrary, advised that they would oppose the invaders of their country by arms. In this contrariety of opinions they divided; and, being equal in numbers, the two parties engaged in battle; and all those who fell in the dispute were buried, by the rest of the people, near the river Tyras;[9] where their sepulchre remains to

Adramyttium, and in Cilicia, neighbour of the Troad; and that they remained the masters of it during an entire century. See Stephanus, *Antandros*.

[8] In Armenia, now the *Aras*.

[9] Now the *Niester*.

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this day. When the Cimmerians had performed that office they abandoned the country, and left it entirely dispeopled in the possession of the Scythians. Divers ports and walls, continues Herodotus, are still to be seen in Scythia, which retain the name of Cimmerian; together with a whole province, and a bosphorus or narrow sea. It is certain the Cimmerians, who fled from the Scythians into Asia, settled in that peninsula where the city of Sinope, a colony of the Grecians, was afterward built: and it is no less evident that the Scythians, pursuing them, fell into Media, and mistook their way. For the Cimmerians in all their flight never abandoned the coast of the sea: whereas the Scythians, in their pursuit, leaving mount Caucasus on the right hand, deflected toward the midland countries, and so entered Media.[1]

[1] B. iv. Cyaxares (king of the Medes) having obtained a victory over the Assyrians, and actually besieged Ninus, a great army of Scythians appeared in full march under the conduct of Madyes their king, and son of Protothyas. The Scythians had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, and pursuing them into Asia, by that means entered into the territories of the Medes. Herodo. B. i. This Cyaxares began to reign 611 years before Christ. The Scythians, he further says, continued twenty-eight years in the possession of Upper Asia, having entered those territories in pursuit of the Cimmerians.

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Eusebius, in his chronicle, mentions an incursion of this people into Greece 1076 years before Christ, or 108 after the siege of Troy.

The Cimmerians, a people of uncommon size, as we are informed by Polyænus, having made war on Alyáttes,[2] he directed his men to carry with them to battle a number of large fierce dogs; which, being set on by their masters, fell upon the barbarians, as on a parcel of wild beasts; tore many of them, so as to disable them from action, and put others to flight.[3]

The irruption of the Cimmerians into Ionia, with an army, according to Herodotus, which happened before the time of Crœsus, ended not in the destruction of cities, but only in ravages, incident to a sudden invasion.[4] Alyattes, he says, succeeding Sadyattes, expelled the Cimmerians out of Asia.[5]

[2] King of Lydia. There were two of this name, the first of whom began to reign 761, and the other 619, B. C. The latter is the one here meant. He reigned 57 years. Orosius notices an incursion of the nation of the Amazons, and the Cimmerians into Asia, in the thirtieth year before the building of Rome, or the 782d before Christ. B. i, C. 21.

[3] B. vii, C. 2.

[4] B. i. Crœsus began to reign 562, B. C. He was son and immediate successor to Alyattes II.

[5] *Ibi.* This was Alyattes II. We can nowhere learn what became of them.

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This irruption is alluded to by Callimachus:

" ——— touch'd with pride
Contemptuous, and with madding fury seiz'd,
A crowd of stout Cimmerians, like the sand
For numbers, from Inachian Bosphorus,
To pour destruction on those sacred walls,[6]
Stern Lygdamis led on; mistaken prince,
Alas how lost! nor thou, nor one of those
Whose chariots crowded over Caysters mead,
Thick as autumnal leaves, shall hence return,
Or view their country more! Dianas arms,
Bless'd Ephesus, thy fortress, thy defence."[7]

In old times, according to Strabo, it happened that the Magnetes were utterly destroyed by the Treres, a Cimmerian nation, which was long accustomed to fortunate successes. Callinus, he adds, refers to another more ancient assault of the Cimmerians, in these words:

" But now the dreadful host of the Cimmerians
Approaches near;"

in which he means the capture of Sardes.[8] The Cimmerians, he says, whom they also call Trerones, or some nation of them, frequently made incursions into the right-hand part of Pontus, and countries contiguous to them, breaking sometimes into Paphlagonia, sometimes into

[6] The Temple of Diana.
[7] *Hymn to Diana.*
[8] B. xiv, p. 648.

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Phrygia; at what time also Midas, having drunk the blood of a bull, died:[9] but Lygdamis, leading his forces, proceeded as far as Lydia and Ionia, took Sardes, and perished in Cilicia. The Cimmerians and Treres,[1] however, he adds, frequently made such kind of incursions: but the Treræ and Cobus were at length expelled by Madyes, king of the Cimmerians.[2]

Scymnus has the following passage:

"These things one Ambron, a Milesian born,
Hath gather'd; by Cimmerians educated.
After Cimmerians Cous, then Critines,
Whom into exile the Milesians sent.
They built a city when a crowd immense
Of the Cimmerians wasted Asia."[3]

This is the whole history of the Cimmerians. They seem to have entirely perished in Ionia,

[9] Eusebius places the death of Midas in 697, about the 4th year of Gyges.

[1] A people, according to Pliny, bordering upon Macedonia. (B. iv, C. 10.)

[2] B. i, p. 61. Callisthenes says that Sardes was taken first by the Cimmerians, afterward by the Treres and Lycians; and that Callinus, a writer of elegies, shews it: where, however, Callinus says, that the Cimmerians made an attack upon the Esioneæ, in which they took Sardes, Sæpsius conjectures him to have used Esioneæ for Asioneæ, that is Asians. (B. xiii, p. 627.)

[3] *Frag.* V. 210-15.

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Paphlagonia, or some other part of Asia, none of them returning to their old possessions, and being never afterward known or mentioned by any respectable historian, Greek or Roman.[4] Their vacated seats, it is true, retained the ancient names to a later period, but they were occupied by other nations, and, to all appearance, the Cimmerians have been wholly extinct for about 2500 years.[5]

[4] Ephorus, as quoted by Strabo, seems to have asserted that, in after-time, the Cimmerians were destroyed by a certain king, whose events had not verified the oracle: which Strabo appears to consider as an old fable. (B. v, p. 245.)

[5] With respect to the etymology of *Cimmerium*, in Greek Κιμμερικὸν, Strabo mentions a similar name, in Epirus, Χειμέριον, *Cheimerium*, adding, in the words of the Latin version, "*quasi si* hybernum *dicas* promontorium, &c." (B. vii, p. 324.)

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APPENDIX.

No. III.

Of the Cimbrians.

THE earliest writer who mentions the *Cimbri*, a people entirely unknown to both Greeks and Romans before the year of Rome 640, appears to be Posidonius, of Apamea, a Grecian philosopher, whose work, though now lost, is frequently quoted by Strabo, an eminent geographer, in the time of Augustus. Posidonius, he observes, by no unapt conjecture, inferred the Cimbri to have been robbers and vagabonds, and to have proceeded with their arms as far as the lake Mæotis: and that the Cimmerian bosphorus had been so denominated from them, as one would say Cimbrican, since the Greeks call the Cimbri by the name of Cimmerians.[2] The

[2] It is not true that the Greeks called the Cimbri Cimmerians, who were a very ancient, and manifestly different people: whereas the name of Cimbri never occurs in any Greek writer

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same Posidonius related that the Boii formerly inhabited the Hercynian forest; and that the Cimbri, when they had arrived in those parts,

before this very Posidonius, nor was such a people at the time he was born known by either Greeks or Romans to exist in the world. See Cluviers *Germaniæ antiquitates*, B. iii, C. 29. This conjectural blunder has been adopted by a late writer as a positive fact, who adds to it another falsehood that the *Cimmerii* or *Cimbri* were *Celts*. "The Celts," he says, "from the Euxine to the Baltic, were called *Cimmerii*, a name noted in Grecian history and fable .... From the ancients we learn to a certainty, that they were the same people with the *Cimbri*." "It is clear," he continues, "from his [Herodotus's] account that the *Cimbri* were the ancient possessors of Germany:" whereas neither Herodotus, nor any other writer more ancient than Posidonius, (whose writings are not extant) ever once mentions the *Cimbri*. As for the *Cimmerii*, we find that they had left their seats near the black sea, and pursued by the Scythians, penetrated into Asia, settled in Paphlagonia, after which they are no longer mentioned in history, nor do we know what became of them. That the *Cimmerii* were *Cimbri*, or that both, or either of those people were *Celts*, so far from being "as certain as so very remote and obscure a subject will bear," is again asserted to be a palpable falsehood. See Pinkertons *Dissertation*, &c. p. 45, 47. "That the *Cimmerii*" he pretends, "were the same with the *Cimbri*, the name and situation might instruct us, were we not positively informed of this by the ancients:" but whatever resemblance there may be in the name of these two nations, their situation, at any rate, was widely remote: the *Cimmerii*, as is well known, before their irruption into Asia, being seated near the mouth of the Don

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being by them repulsed, descended to the Ister, and the Galli Scordisci; thence to the Tauristæ and the Taurisci, who were likewise Gauls; then to the Helvetii, abounding in gold, but of a peaceful disposition. These when they saw greater riches obtained by the robberies of the Cimbri, chiefly the Tigurini and Tugeni,[3] turned their minds to pillage, and joined themselves as companions to the Cimbri, who intended to go into Italy; but they were all conquered by the Romans, both the Cimbri and their associates, partly beyond the Alps, partly when, these being passed over, they had descended into Italy. This custom, they report, was used by the Cimbri: Their wives following them to war, certain hoary prophets accompanied them, in white garments, fastened at the top with buckles, with a copper girdle, and naked feet. These ran upon the

upon the Cimmerian bosphorus, or straits of Caffa, between the *Pontus Euxinus*, called also Cimmeriæ Paludes, or Black-sea, and the *Palus Mæotis*, or sea of Azof; now, perhaps, the Crimea, or Crim-Tartary; and the *Cimbri*, on the contrary, inhabiting the *Cimbrica chersonesus*, now Jutland, in Denmark, above the Elbe: an immense distance, or above 20 degrees, being the opposite extremities of Europe. The *Cimmerii*, moreover, were, apparently, extinct 500 years before the *Cimbri* were ever heard of.

[3] Both branches of the *Helvetii*.

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prisoners with drawn swords, and drew them prostrate to a brazen vessel, holding about 20 amphoras [180 gallons.][4] Over this was a scaffold (or pulpit), which having ascended, the prophet, standing erect, cut the throats of every one raised above the caldron: from the blood shed into the vessel they caught their divination: the rest cut up the bodies of the persons thus slain, and, the intestines being inspected, foretold the victory to their own side. In battle they bet skins stretched on the [wicker-work] of their waggons; from which a terrible sound was produced.[5]

The next writer is Cæsar, who "saw it of dangerous consequence, to suffer the Germans by little and little to transport themselves over the Rhine, and settle in great multitudes in Gaul. For that fierce and savage people, having once possessed themselves of the whole country of Gaul, were but too likely, after the example of the Teutones and Cimbri, to break into the Roman province, and thence advance into Italy itself.[6] In his

[4] This, or a similar, vessel was long afterward sent by the Cimbrians to Augustus Cæsar, a thing held most sacred among them, in order to atone for passed injuries, and to obtain his future friendship. (Strabo, B. vii, p. 293.)

[5] Strabo, B. vii, p. 293. [6] *G. W.* B. i, C. 25.

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harangue, in the council of war, previously to marching against Ariovistus, he told the centurions: "That they were to deal with enemies [*i. e.* Germans] of whom trial had been already made in the memory of their fathers, when, by the victory of C. Marius over the Teutones and Cimbri, the army itself acquired no less glory than the general who commanded it.[7] Enquiring of the ambassadors of the Rhemi, a Belgian people, what states had taken up arms, he found "That in the late irruption of the Teutones and Cimbri, when all the other provinces of Gaul were over-run, they [the Belgians] alone had ventured to stand upon their defence; nor suffered the barbarians to set foot in their territories."[8] The Attuatici, a Belgian nation, as we are informed by this great man, were descended from the Teutones and Cimbri, who, in their march toward the Alps and Italy, left their heavy baggage on this side the Rhine with a detachment of six thousand men to guard it. These, after the final overthrow of their countrymen, being for many years harassed and persecuted by the neighbouring states, at last obtained peace, and chose this place for a habitation.[9] Critognatus, in the course of his speech

[7] *G. W.* B. i, C. 31. [8] *Ibi.* B. ii, C. 4. [9] *Ibi.* B. ii, C. 29.

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to the Gauls, besieged in Alesia, says, 'What then should I propose.' What but to do as our ancestors did in the war with the Teutones and Cimbri, much less interesting than that we are now engaged in. Compelled to shut themselves up in their towns, and reduced to a distress equal to that we now experience, rather than surrender to their enemies, they chose to sacrifice to their subsistence the bodies of those whom age incapacitated for war . . . The Cimbri, after laying waste Gaul, and spreading desolation through the whole country, withdrew however their forces, at length, and repaired to other regions, leaving us the full enjoyment of our laws, customs, lands and liberties."[1]

Diodorus Siculus, describing the manners of the Gauls, says that "some have thought them to be those that anciently overran all Asia, and were then called Cimmerians, and who are now, through length of time, with a little alteration, called Cimbrians:"[2] a very ill-founded and absurd conjecture!

[1] Cæsar, *ibi.* B. vii, C. 71. He elsewhere mentions a hundred cantons of the Suevians, a German nation, headed by two brothers Nasua and Cimberius. (B. i, C. 28.)

[2] B. v, C. 2. This author has fallen into a similar mistake, where, describing the rivers of Gaul, he tells us that Cæsar cast a bridge over the Rhine, and passed over his forces, and sub-

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Strabo reckons the Cimbri among the inferior nations of the Germans, placing them, with the Sicambri, Chaubi, Bucteri, and others, at the ocean. He treats as a fable their being driven from the peninsula which they inhabited by a deluge, and compelled to wander in quest of new settlements, and seek their sustenance by robberies: since, he says, at this very day, they possess their ancient seat, and lately sent a brazen caldron, which among them is esteemed most sacred, as a present to Augustus, desiring his friendship, and the pardon of alledged injuries; and, these obtained, they returned home.[3] He, again, says, that the northern nations of the Germans are extended along the shore of the ocean; and that they are known from the mouths of the Rhine to the Elbe, the most noted being the Sicambri and the Cimbri.[4]

According to Velleius Paterculus, "A prodigious number of the German nations, which

dued the Gauls (Germans he should have said) on the other side. *Ibi.* These two passages, of Posidonius and Diodorus, in opposition to all earlier and other writers, seem to be Mr. Pinkertons sole ground for asserting (as already observed) that "The Cimmerii were, as the ancients inform, the same with the Cimbri; and the Cimbri were Celts." (*Enquiry.* I, 13.)

[3] B. vii, p. 292. [4] B. vii, p. 293.

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were called Cimbri and Teutones had discharged themselves into the empire.[5]

Pomponius Mela, in his description of Germany, says, upon the Albis (Elbe) is the huge Codan bay, filled with large and small islands; in it are the Cimbri and Teutones; beyond, the Hermiones, the last of Germany.[6]

Valerius Maximus plainly distinguishes the Gauls from the Cimbri: The philosophy of the Gauls, he says, was covetous and usurious; that of the Cimbrians courageous and resolute.[7]

Frontinus does the same in telling us that "Marius, in the Cimbric and Teutonic war, to try the faith of the Gauls and Ligurians, sent letters to them, of which the first part directed that those within, which were sealed up, should not be opened before a certain time: afterward, before the time prefixed, he demanded them back, and because he found them opened, he concluded that they meditated hostilities."[8]

"In the winding tract of Germany[9] to the

[5] C. 11. "Then," says he in a former chapter, "did the Cimbri and Teutones pass over the Rhine." (C. 8.)

[6] B. iii, C. 3. [7] B. ii, C. 6, § 11. [8] B. i, C. 2.

[9] By this *winding tract* the author appears to mean modern Jutland, called by geographers the *Cimbrica chersonesus*. Both Mela and Pliny place the *Cimbri* on the same promontory.

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northward," as we are told by Tacitus, "live the Cimbri close to the ocean, a community now very small, but great in fame. Nay, of their ancient renown many and extensive are the traces and monuments still remaining. It was in the six hundred and fortieth year of Rome, when the first mention was made of the arms of the Cimbrians, during the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo. If from that time we count to the second consulship of the emperor Trajan, the interval comprehends near two hundred and ten years; so long have we been conquering Germany. In truth, neither from the Samnites, nor from the Carthaginians, nor from both Spains, nor from all the nations of Gaul, have we received more frequent checks and alarms; nor even from the Parthians: for more vigorous and invincible is the liberty of the *Germans* than the monarchy of the *Arsacides*. He then proceeds to enumerate the victories of the *Germans*, and mentions their being expelled from *Gaul*, of which they had aimed at the dominion.[1]

Pliny says "Of the Germans there are five sorts: the Vindelici; of whom part are Burgundians, &c. Another sort, the Ingævones; of

[1] *Of the manners of the Germans.*

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whom part are Cimbri, Teutoni, and nations of Chauci. Next to the Rhine," he adds, " are the Istævones; of whom part are the inland Cimbri."[2] These first-mentioned Cimbri appear to have inhabited Holstein and Jutland: the others, that country which is now the county of Mark, the duchy of Berg, and the duchy of Cleves, beyond the Rhine.

Plutarch, in his account of the Cimbrian war, says that the pretence of the Teutones and Cimbri, for their invasion of Italy, " was the seeking new countries to sustain their great multitudes, and cities where they might settle and inhabit, as they had heard that the Celtæ before them had expelled the Etrurians, and possessed the best part of Italy:" a sufficient proof that they considered themselves a distinct nation. " These," he adds, " having no commerce with the southern nations, and coming from countries far remote, no man knew what people they were, or whence they came:" The Gauls, or Celts, on the contrary, had been not only well known to the Romans, but even settled in Italy, for three hundred years before. " Yet by their eyes," he continues, " and the largeness of their stature, they were thought to be some of those *Germans*,

[2] B. iv, C. 14.

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that dwell by the northern sea; beside, the *Germans* in their language call robbers *Cimbri*."[3] "They were of an invincible strength," he says, "and fierceness in battle; and came on with the same irresistible violence as a flame, nor could any withstand their fury in their march; many Roman armies, and several officers of great reputation, who had the care of Transalpine Gaul, were defeated, or fled ignominiously before them." We know, however, from Cæsar, that this character by no means suited the Gauls, at that period; as they had been upon the decline, both in numbers and courage for some time.

Their "ordinary voice and warlike shouts differed from those of all other men:" Consequently from those of the Gauls whose manners were perfectly known to the Romans. In the heat of the action, "with their bare arms they pulled away the shields of the Romans, and laid hold on their swords, enduring the wounding and slashing of their bodies to the very last with undaunted resolution." Nothing of this kind, however, is any where related of the Gauls, who were remarkably impatient under their sufferings. The Teutones and Cimbri had "broad

[3] Festus says they are so called in the *Gallic* language.

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shields;" but all the ancient writers agree that those of the Gauls were narrow. The former, too, "dismissed their prisoners, on certain conditions, swearing them upon their brazen bull:" but the Gauls, it is notorious, had neither such a custom nor such an image. They were opposed, in their endeavours to escape over the Alps, by the Sequani; who, had they been of Gallic descent, would rather have assisted, or even joined them. Their dress and armour were very different from those of the Gauls; who had no such practice as tying themselves fast "to one another with long cords put through their belts, to hinder them from breaking their ranks, or falling into disorder."

The populace stiled Marius "the third founder of their city, as having diverted a danger no less threatening than that which Rome had formerly experienced from the *Gauls*." The *Cimbrians*, of course, were a different people.

The same author reports that the soldier employed by the magistrates of Minturnum to kill Marius, was "a *Gaul* by nation or *Cimbrian* (Γαλάτης τὸ γένος, ἢ Κιμβρος);" for," says he, it is reported of each:" a sufficient proof that *Gaul* and *Cimbrian* were not synonymous: some said the assassin was of one nation, some, of another.

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Appian calls him "a certain Gaul (Γαλατην):" but Velleius Paterculus, "a *German* by nation, taken prisoner in the *Cimbric* war."[4] Valerius Maximus, who calls him "a *Cimbrian*," adds that "the slaughter of the *Cimbrians* presented itself before his eyes; and the calamity of his vanquished nation quelled his courage."[5]

Sertorius, he says, "made his first campaign under Cæpio, when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul ... The same enemy came on a second time with such prodigious numbers, and such dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius had then the command, and Sertorius offered his service to go as a spy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose he took a *Gaulish* habit, and having learned as much of the language as might suffice for common address, he mingled with the barbarians."[6] Sertorius might have had many opportunities of acquiring the Gallic language; but it was scarcely possible for him to have got acquainted with the Teutonic, this being the first time the Romans had ever known or heard of such a people: and, in fact, the *Gaulish* was sufficient to answer his purpose; as there was a

[4] C. 19. [5] B. ii, C. 10. [6] *Life of Sertorius.*

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considerable number of Gauls in the Cimbrian army.

The Cimbri, according to Dio Cassius, ate raw flesh:[7] which, we are told by Pomponius Mela, was likewise a practice of the Germans.[8]

"The Cimbri, Theutoni, and Tigurini," as we are told by Florus, "being obliged to fly from the remotest parts of Gaul, because the ocean had overflowed their country, were seeking for a new settlement throughout the world; and being excluded Gaul and Spain, and taking a wheel about into Italy, they sent deputies into the camp of Silanus, and from thence to the senate, desiring that so warlike a people would give them some land as pay, but use their arms and hands as they pleased."[9] This report, which is likewise mentioned by Strabo,[1] that the migration of the Cimbri had been occasioned by the incursion of the sea, must be confined to that people and the Teutones; the Tigurini, a nation of Helvetians, in a mountainous country, were not liable to such an accident.

Dio Cassius, who says, of the Aduatici [in Gaul], that they were Cimbrians both by nation

[7] Excerpts of Dio, by Valois, p. 634.
[8] B. iii, C. 3.
[9] B. iii, C. 3. [1] B. ii, p. 102.

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and mind,[2] observes that the latter after their force once failed them abated much from their first fury, and thence became more tardy and infirm, both in mind and body. The reason was, that whereas before they were wont to act under the open air, then they lingered in beds; and used warm baths, whereas before they were wont to wash in cold ones. To these, they glutted themselves with rich sauces and delicious viands who were formerly wont to eat raw flesh: finally, they indulged themselves in wine and much eating beside their custom. For, by these things, both the energy of their minds being enervated, and their bodies become effeminate, so that now they can longer bear no labour, no fatigue, no heat, no cold, no vigilance.[3]

Eutropius expressly says that "the Cimbri and the Teutones, and the Tigurini, and the Ambrones, were nations of the Germans and the Gauls:[4] evidently meaning that the Cimbri and Teutones were of the former race, the Tigurini and Ambrones of the latter. That the Tigurini, as already remarked, were Helvetian Gauls is proved by Cæsar; and that the Ambrones were of the same family is asserted by Festus.

[2] B. xxix, C. 4, p. 191. [3] *Fragmenta*, 103. [4] B. v, C. 1.

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Claudian, likewise, calls the *Cimber* a *German.* He is speaking of Ausonia, or Italy :

"Hæc et *Teutonico* quondam patefacta *furori*,
Colla *catenati* vidit squalentia *Cymbri*."[5]

It must be confessed that several ancient and respectable writers, both Greek and Roman, have occasionally, either by intention or inadvertency, confounded the Cimbrians with the Gauls. Of this number is Cicero, who, comparing Marius and Cæsar, says that "these two great men have had *the same enemies* to fight with, and have equally vanquished them; with this sole difference that the last has made himself master of all their towns; and that the first has not willed to enter into them, contenting himself to have repressed those multitudes of *Gauls*, who wanted to settle in Italy."[6]

"In the year of Rome 648," says Sallust, "our generals Q. Cæpio and M. Mallius[7] lost a battle against the *Gauls*; which threw all Italy into consternation." These enemies, it is well known, were *Cimbrians.*

Appian, in his *Illyrics*, speaks of those "Celts whom they call Cimbrians;" and, in his first

[5] *De bello Getico.*
[6] *Of the provincial consuls.*
[7] Livy, or his epitomist, calls him *Cn. Manlius.* (B. 67.)

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book *Of the Civil War*, says that "Apuleius made a law touching the division of such lands as, in the country which by the Romans is now called Gaul, had been occupied by the Cimbri a Celtic race:" who are never mentioned by any other writer as having occupied land either in Gaul or Italy, except in once invading each of those countries, in the time of Marius. He elsewhere says that "a prodigious number of Gauls made an irruption into Italy, and into the Narbonese province, and that Marius being sent against them, cut them all in pieces."

"The Gauls," says Dio, "who formerly have sent against us the Cimbrians and the Ambrones, are at present as peaceable and well-cultivated as Italy."[8]

Sextus Rufus, also, says that "Marius chased the Gauls out of Italy."

All these passages, however, in which Marius is said to have defeated the Gauls, or Cæpio and Manlius, or Papyrius Carbo, to have been defeated by them, may be sufficiently reconciled to the fact, without supposing them to mean Cimbrians; since it is very certain that there were several Gallic nations who, for the sake of plunder or revenge, joined with them in that

[8] B. liv.

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expedition. At any rate, without attempting to account for this apparent confusion, it is manifest, from the oldest and best historical and geographical authorities, that the Teutones and Cimbri were nations of Germany, and without the slightest pretensions to a Celtic origin.

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APPENDIX.

No. IV.

Of the Cimbrian war.

AN account of Jugurthas defeat and captivity had hardly reached Rome, when news was brought of the invasion of the Teutones and Cimbri.[1] At first it exceeded all credit, as to the number and strength of the approaching army; but at length that report proved much inferior to the truth, for they were 300,000 fighting men, beside women and children. Their pretence was the seeking new countries to sustain their great

[1] The Cimbrians, a huge and mighty nation, invaded Illyricum, and wasted the country; by whom Papyrius Carbo was defeated. [Y. R. 640, B. C. 113.] Livy, B. 63 (Epitome.) Appian, *Celtics*, B. iv, *Excerpt* 13. See also Eutropius, B. iv, S. 25. This is the first time they are mentioned by any historian, or were ever heard of by the Romans. "About that time," says V. Paterculus, under the consulship of Porcius and Marcius, (B. C. 118), "did the Cimbri and Teutones pass over the Rhine." C. 8.

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multitudes, and cities where they might settle and inhabit; as they had heard that the Celtæ before them had expelled the Etrurians, and possessed themselves of the best part of Italy. These having had no commerce with the southern nations, and coming from countries far remote, no man knew what people they were, or whence they came, who thus like a cloud hovered over Gaul and Italy; yet by their grey eyes, and the largeness of their stature, they were thought to be some of those Germans that dwell by the northern sea; beside, the Germans in their language call robbers Cimbri.[2] However, most

[2] As what here follows in Plutarch seems perfectly fabulous it will be sufficient to notice it in the margin. "There are some who say that such is the vast extent of the country of the Celtæ, that it reaches from the western ocean and northern climes to the lake Mæotis eastward, and to that part of Scythia which borders on the Euxine sea; that there the two nations mingle together; that they make regular draughts out of their country not all at once, nor continually, but at the spring season every year; that by means of these annual supplies they have gradually swarmed over the greatest part of the European continent; and that though they are separately distinguished by different names according to the different clans of which they are compounded, yet their whole army is comprehended under the general name of *Celto-Scythæ*. Others say, that they were originally a small parcel of the *Cimmerii*, anciently well known to the Grecians; and that quitting their native soil, or

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historians agree that the number of this rabble, instead of being less was greater than had been

being expelled from thence by the Scythians on account of some sedition among them, they passed from the Palus Mæotis into Asia, under the conduct of one Lygdamis, whom they had chosen for their leader; but the greater and more warlike part of them still inhabited the remotest regions lying upon the northern ocean. These, they say, live in a dark woody country, where the sun is seldom seen, by reason of their many high and spreading trees, which also reach inward as far as the Hercinian forest; they are under that part of the heavens where the pole is so elevated, that by the declination of the parallels, the zenith of the inhabitants seems to be but little distant from it; and their days and nights are of such a length that they serve to divide their year into two equal parts. This dismal country gave occasion to the fiction of Homer concerning the infernal regions. From hence therefore these barbarians began their march, when they came into Italy, being anciently called Cimmerii, and in process of time Cimbri, by corruption of the word probably, and not from their customs or manners. But these things," he very properly adds, "are built rather upon conjecture, than any authority from history."

This groundless conjecture, that *Cimbri* was a corruption of *Cimmerii*, is much more ancient, indeed, than the age of Plutarch. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the Celts or Gauls, says, "They are so noted for a fierce and warlike people, that some have thought them to be those that anciently overran all Asia, and were then called *Cimmerians*, and who are now (through length of time) with a little alteration, called *Cimbrians*." He likewise observes "That those they call Lusitanians are most valiant of all the Cimbri." (See B. v, C. 2.) It must be re-

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reported. They were of an invincible strength and fierceness in battle, and came on with the same irresistible violence as a devouring flame; nor could any withstand their fury in their march, but all that came in their way were trodden down, or driven before them, like so many sheep of whom they had made a prey. Many Roman armies, and many officers of great reputation, who had the care of the Transalpine Gaul committed to their charge, were defeated, or fled ignominiously before them:[3] and indeed the

membered, however, that the name of Cimbri was totally unknown to either Greeks or Romans before the present invasion.

Florus says that the Cimbri, Theutoni, and Tigurini, flying from the remotest parts of Gaul, because the ocean had overflowed their country, were seeking for a new settlement throughout a new world; and being excluded Gaul, and Spain, took a wheel about into Italy. B. iii, C. 3.

[3] They first, according to Florus, when arrived in Italy sent deputies into the camp of Silanus, and from thence to the senate, desiring that so warlike a people would give them some land as pay, but use their arms and hands as they pleased. But, being rejected, they resolved to obtain that by arms which they could not by prayers. But Silanus could neither withstand the first assault of the barbarians, nor Manlius the second, nor Cæpio the third: they were all routed, and driven out of their camp. *Ibi.*

Aurelius Scaurus, lieutenant to the consul, was with his army

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faint resistance these barbarians met with in their first efforts chiefly encouraged them to bend

overthrown by the Cimbrians, and himself taken prisoner. Being called into their council, when they intended the invasion of Italy, and seeming to intimidate them from passing the Alps, saying, the Romans could not possibly be overcome, he was killed by their king Bolus, a proud and fierce prince. By the same enemies Cn. Manlius consul, and Q. Servilius [Cæpio] pro-consul were vanquished in battle, and lost both their camps: there being slain 80,000 soldiers, and 40,000 followers of the camp. By the judgement of the people of Rome, Cæpio, through whose rashness this overthrow happened, was condemned, his goods were confiscated, and, finally, he was deprived of his government. Livy, B. lxvii, *(epitome.)* The Cimbrians, having laid waste all the parts about the river Rhone and the Pyrenæan mountains, passed over into Spain through the straits; whence, after spoiling many places, they were driven out by the Celtiberians; and being returned into Gaul, they joined with the Teutones. *Ibi.* This was in 642.

Eutropius says, The Cimbri were defeated in Gaul by M. Junius Silanus, the colleague of Metellus, B. iv, S. 28. Their consulship was in the Y. R. 644, and B. C. 109.

According to the same author: while the war was carried on in Numidia, the Roman consuls M. Manlius and Q. Cæpio were defeated near the river Rhone, by the Cimbri and the Teutones, and the Tigurini, and the Ambrones, which were nations of the Germans and Gauls: and being reduced with prodigious slaughter, likewise lost their camp, and a great part of their army. The fear of Rome was scarcely so great in the time of Hannibal, lest the Gauls should again come to Rome, B. v, C. 1.

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their march toward Rome. For having vanquished all they set upon, and being well laden with plunder, they resolved to settle themselves no where till they should have razed the city, and wasted all Italy. The Romans, being from all parts alarmed with this news, immediately sent for Marius to be their commander in that war, and nominated him the second time consul.[4] Marius, bringing over his legions out of Africa on the very first day of January (which the Romans reckoned the beginning of their year) received the consulship, and then also entered in triumph, shewing Jugurtha a prisoner to the people. Fortune seems very much to have favoured Marius on this occasion. For the course of the barbarians changing like a sudden ebb of the tide, they first invaded Spain, whereby he had time to exercise his soldiers, and confirm

Orosius, who had read Livy, adds that of all the army only 10 men who carried the wretched news were reported to have survived. The enemy possessed of both camps, and immense spoil, destroyed every thing they took. Wearing apparel they tore and threw away: gold and silver they cast into the river: coats of mail they hacked in pieces; the horses they drowned; the men, with halters about their necks, they hanged upon trees; so that the conqueror received no gain (booty) and the vanquished no mercy. (B. v, C. 16.)

[4] Y. R. 649; B. C. 104.

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their courage, and, which was most considerable, to shew them what he himself was. For his fierce disposition in authority, and his severity in punishing, proved both just and advantageous to them, as by these means they were accustomed to a ready and exact obedience; and his passionate temper, stern voice, and harsh aspect, which were in a little while grown familiar to them, they esteemed terrible not to themselves, but only to their enemies. The barbarians were expected in the spring; however their arrival was not so sudden as was imagined, so that Marius's third consulship expired without a sight of them. But the people considering that the present juncture very much required his capacity, and his good fortune too, voted him the fourth time consul,[5] and made Catulus Lutatius his colleague. Marius, having notice of the enemys approach, with all expedition passed the Alps; and pitching his camp by the river Rhone, he took care first to furnish himself with plentiful supplies of victuals, lest at any time he should be forced to fight at a disadvantage for want of necessaries. The enemy, dividing themselves into two bodies, the Cimbri were appointed to march the upper way through Noricum, and

[5] Y. R. 651; B. C. 102.

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force the passes there, which were guarded by Catulus, whilst the Teutones and Ambrones marched against Marius along the sea-coast through Liguria. The Cimbri took up more time in their preparations, and delayed their march; but the Teutones and Ambrones[6] were more expeditious, and having with long marches passed the Alps, and traversed the whole country of Liguria, they soon came up with Marius, and presented to his view an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aspect, whose ordinary voice and warlike shouts differed from those of all other men. Having encamped on the plain, where they spread themselves over a vast extent of ground, they challenged the consul to battle. Marius, nothing moved with their boasts and menaces, restrained his soldiers within the trenches, and sharply reprehended those that were too forward and eager to engage, calling them traitors to their country, and telling them, that they were not come thither in pursuit of triumphs and trophies, but their business now

[6] The Ambrones, according to Festus, were a Gallic nation, who, having lost their country by a sudden inundation of the sea, began to maintain them and theirs by rapine and plunder; from which, he adds, it is conjectured that men of base life were called *Ambrones*.

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was to dissipate the dreadful storm that was ready to burst over them, and to save Italy from destruction. This he represented in private to his chief officers and men of the first rank. As to the common soldiers, he placed them by turns upon the bulwarks to survey the enemy, that they might be accustomed to bear their frightful shape and voice, and might be acquainted with their arms and their way of using them.[7] Accordingly the fears of the soldiers were diminishing every day by thus continually surveying their enemies, and their indignation was roused, and their courage inflamed, when they heard the threats and insupportable insolence of the barbarians, who not only plundered and depopulated all the country round, but also in a most impudent and contemptuous manner threatened to storm their trenches. This put the soldiers out of all patience: they complained loudly of it, and their complaints came to Marius's own ears.

[7] When the Cimbri and Teutones, says Polyænus, a people savage in their manners, of immense stature, with horrid countenances, and a language scarcely human, penetrated into Italy, Marius would not venture at first a close engagement, but ordered his men to advance no further than the trenches, and within a javelins cast skirmish with them at a distance. The Romans, after being thus familiarised to their figures, soon learned as savages to despise them, &c. B. viii, C. 10.

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He gently appeased them, by assuring them that he did not distrust their valour, but that he was to follow the directions of an oracle, which pointed out to him the time and place which were to secure to him the victory. For he constantly carried up and down with him a Syrian woman called Martha, who passed for a prophetess. He caused her to be borne in a litter, paid her all imaginable respect, and never sacrificed to the gods but by her direction. This management rendered it doubtful to many whether he really gave any credit to her himself, or only acted a part, and shewed her publicly to impose upon the soldiers. Whilst Marius lay quiet, without attempting any thing upon the barbarians, they ventured to attack his camp; from whence being encountered with showers of darts, and losing several of their men, they determined to march forward, hoping to pass the Alps without opposition; wherefore packing up their baggage, they marched by the camp of the Romans, to whom the greatness of their numbers appeared in a clearer light than it had done before, from the time they took up in their march; for it is said that though they moved on without intermission, they were six days in passing by Marius's camp. They came so near

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the Romans, that some of them as they marched along called out, and in an insulting manner asked them, if they had any messages for their wives, for they should shortly be with them. As soon as the barbarians had all passed by, and were in full march, Marius decamped, following them leisurely, constantly halting when they did, at some small distance behind them, and choosing always convenient places for his camp, which he strongly fortified, that he might pass the nights in safety. Thus they marched till they came to Aquæ-Sextiæ, whence the Alps were but little distant; and then Marius put himself in readiness for the encounter. He chose a place for his camp of considerable strength, but where there was scarcity of water; designing, as was reported, by this mean to sharpen the courage of his soldiers. For when several of them seemed dissatisfied at his choosing that ground where they were in danger of perishing for want of water; he, pointing with his hand to a river which ran near the enemys camp, said to them, "There you may have water, but you must purchase it at the expence of your blood." "And why then," replied they, "do you not lead us thither, whilst we have any blood left in our veins?" To which he answered in a softer tone,

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"I will lead you thither, but first let us fortify our camp." Though this did not hinder the soldiers from murmuring, yet they all obeyed. But the servants belonging to the army, being in great want of water, both for themselves and their cattle, ran in great crowds toward the river, some with hatchets, some with axes, others with swords and javelins, and all with pitchers in their hands, being resolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. These were at first encountered only by a small party of the enemy; for it was then about dinner time, when some, having bathed, were sitting at table, and others were still bathing; the country in those parts abounding with hot springs. This gave the Romans an opportunity of surprising a great many of them, who being much taken with the delightfulness of those baths, thought of nothing but regaling themselves, and indulging their appetites. But the exclamations of those who were first attacked having given the alarm, and drawn others who were nearest them to their assistance, Marius could no longer restrain the impatience of the soldiers, who were in pain for their servants. Beside, the Ambrones, who were above 30,000 in number, and who were the best of the enemys troops, and who

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had already defeated Manlius and Cæpio, were drawn out, and stood to their arms. As to these, though their bodies were overcharged with eating, yet their minds were rendered daring and cheerful by the wine they had drunk; so that they advanced, not in a wild and disorderly manner, or rending the air with a confused noise, and inarticulate yellings, but striking on their armour by regular intervals, and moving all together as to a tune or measure, continually repeating their own name, "Ambrones! Ambrones!" either the better to encourage one another, or to strike the greater terror into their enemies. Of all the Italians in Marius's army, the Ligurians were the first that charged; and when they understood that the enemies shouted Ambrones, they also echoed back the same word, which was their own ancient name. This acclamation being thus returned from one army to the other before they joined, and the officers on either side encouraging them, they strove with all possible vehemence to exceed each other in the loudness of their shouts; and this was a greater incentive to their courage. The Ambrones having the river to pass, this broke their order; so that before they could form again on the other side, the Ligurians attacked the van,

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and began the charge. At the same time the Romans hastened up to support the Ligurians; and pouring down upon the enemy from the higher ground, they pressed them so hard, that they were soon put into disorder. A great number of them were slain upon the bank of the river, where they fell foul upon one another, and the river itself was filled with the blood and dead bodies of the barbarians. Those who were got safe over not daring to make head, the Romans slew them as they fled to their camp and carriages;[8] where the women, meeting them with swords and axes, and making a hideous outcry, fell upon those that fled as well as those that pursued, the former as traitors, the others as enemies; and, mixing themselves with the soldiers, with their bare arms they pulled away the shields of the Romans, and laid hold on their swords, enduring the wounding and slashing of their bodies to the very last with undaunted resolution.[9] Thus the battle is said to have

[8] As the Ambrones had passed the river, the camp and carriages here meant are supposed to be those of the Teutones.

Marius, according to Appian, ordered the bodies of the Cimbri to be left untouched till the day should appear, as he imagined them to abound with gold. (*Celtics*, B. iv, *Frag.* 14. Suidas.)

[9] Nothing of this kind is related of the Gallic women.

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happened upon the banks of that river rather by accident than by any design of the general. The Romans, after having thus put to the sword the greatest part of the Ambrones, retired as it began to grow dark; but the camp did not resound with songs of victory, as was usual on such occasions; there were no rejoicings, no mutual entertainments in their tents. Sleep itself, that most welcome refreshment, after the toils of a successful battle, was that night a stranger to the Romans, who passed their time in the greatest trouble and perplexity. Their camp was unfortified; and there still remained many myriads of the barbarians yet unconquered. Those of the Ambrones who had escaped from the late defeat, being mingled with them, filled the air with hideous outcries, not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howlings and bellowings of wild beasts, attended with threats and lamentations, which proceeding from such an innumerable host, resounded through the neighbouring mountains, and the hollow banks of the adjacent river. While this horrid din echoed through the whole plain, the hearts of the Romans were seized with terror, and Marius himself was struck with amazement at the apprehensions of a tumultuous night-engagement.

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However the barbarians made no motions either that night, or the day following, but spent that time in consulting how to dispose and draw themselves up to the best advantage. In the mean time Marius, well knowing that there hung over the enemys camp some cliffs and hollows covered with wood, detached Claudius Marcellus with 3000 men to lie there in ambuscade, and fall on the enemys rear when the fight was begun. The next morning, as soon as it was day, he drew up before the camp, and commanded the horse to march into the plain, which the Teutones perceiving, they could not contain themselves, nor stay till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might encounter them upon equal terms; but, arming themselves in haste, and in great anger, they inconsiderately ran and attacked them upon that rising ground. Marius dispatched his officers with proper orders to all parts, commanding his men to stand still and wait for the enemy, and as soon as they were advanced within reach to throw their darts, and then joining their shields, to attack them with sword in hand; for he knew that the steepness of the ground would render the enemys footing unsteady, and abate the force of their blows; nor could their shields be joined

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close together, where the declivity of the place would be continually forcing their bodies upon an unequal poise. This counsel he gave them, and was himself observed to be the first that followed it; for he was inferior to none in the agility of his body, and far excelled them all in resolution. Wherefore the Romans vigorously opposed them, and stopping them short as they were ascending the hill, pressed hard upon them, and forced them back into the plain, where the foremost battalions began to rally, and form again, but the rear was in the utmost confusion. For Marcellus was upon the watch, and as soon as he was assured from the noise and clamour which reached the hills where they lay concealed, that the flight was begun, he marched forward with his troops, and falling impetuously and with loud shouts upon the enemy in the rear, he killed many of them. The Romans pressed them with such vigour that they pushed them upon those that were in the front, so that the whole army was soon put into disorder; and the barbarians, being assaulted both in front and rear, and unable to make head against both attacks at once, were broken and put to flight. The Romans, pursuing them, slew and took prisoners above a hundred thousand, and possessing

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themselves of their tents, baggage, and carriages, voted as many of them as were not plundered as a present to Marius. But some authors give a different account of the disposition of the spoils and number of the slain. It is said that after this battle the Massilians made inclosures for their vineyards with the bones of those who fell in it, and that the soil, being enriched by the moisture of the putrefied bodies, (which was soaked in with the rain of the following winter,) yielded the next season a prodigious crop. After the battle, Marius chose out from amongst the barbarian spoils and arms such as were most rich and most entire, and would make the greatest show in his triumph; the rest he heaped upon a large pile, and offered them as a splendid sacrifice to the gods. The army stood round the pile crowned with laurel; and himself, arrayed in his purple robe, and girt after the fashion of the Romans, taking a lighted torch, and with both hands lifting it up toward heaven, was going to put it to the pile, when some of his friends were espied coming in all haste toward him on horseback; whereupon every one remained in great silence and expectation. When they came near, they, alighting, saluted Marius, told him the news of his fifth consulship, and

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delivered him letters to the same purpose.[1] This added no small joy to the solemnity, which the army expressed by martial shouts and acclamations; and, whilst the officers were placing new crowns on the head of Marius, he set fire to the pile and finished his sacrifice. Within a few days after this joyful solemnity, Marius received news of an event, which raised a cloud in the midst of this calm and serenity, and threatened Rome with another dreadful tempest. For Catulus, who had been sent to oppose the Cimbri in their march, and defend the passes on the tops of the Alps, thinking it impossible to do it without making so many detachments as would necessarily weaken his forces, marched back into Italy, and posted his army behind the river Athesis;[2] where blocking up the fords with strong fortifications on both sides, he made a bridge over it, that so he might be in a condition to succour the garrisons on the other side, if the enemy, having forced the narrow passages of the mountains, should attempt to storm them. The barbarians came on with such insolence and contempt of their enemies, that to show their

[1] He was elected consul for the 5th time in the year of Rome, 652, and before Christ 101.

[2] Now the Adige.

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strength and courage, rather than out of any necessity they exposed themselves quite naked to showers of snow, climbed up to the tops [of] the mountains through heaps of ice and snow, and from thence, placing their broad shields under their bodies, they slid from the precipices along the vast slippery descents. When they had pitched their camp at a little distance from the river, and surveyed the passage, they determined to fill it up, and, like the giants of old, tore up the neighbouring hills; they brought trees pulled up by the roots, and heaps of earth and massy rocks to the river, wherewith damming up its course; and with bulky and heavy materials, which rolling down the stream, dashed against the bridge, they forced away the timbers which supported it. Upon this the greatest part of the Roman soldiers, being very much affrighted, left their camp and fled. Here Catulus showed himself a truly excellent commander, in preferring the glory of his country to his own private honour and reputation. For when he found he could not prevail with his soldiers to stand to their colours, but saw in how cowardly a manner they all deserted them, he commanded his own standard to be taken up, and running to the foremost of those that had fled, led them

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forward, choosing rather that the disgrace should fall upon himself than his country, and that they should not seem to fly, but follow their leader. The barbarians assaulted and took the fortress on the other side of the Athesis; where, admiring the courage of the few Romans who were left there, and had fought bravely in defence of their country, they dismissed them on certain conditions, swearing them upon their brazen bull, which was afterward taken in the battle, and, as they say, carried to Catulus's house, as the chief trophy of the victory.[3] Thus falling upon the country, destitute of defence, they laid all waste; whereupon Marius was presently sent for to the city. When he arrived there, every one supposed he would triumph, and the senate too unanimously voted it, but he himself refused it; whether it was, that he was unwilling to deprive his officers and soldiers of their share in the honour, or that to encourage the people in this juncture, he chose to intrust the glory of his former exploits with the fortune of the city, deferring his triumph now that he might enjoy it afterward with the greater splendour. Having made a harangue to the people suitable to the occasion, he hastened to Catulus, whose drooping

[3] The Gauls had no such image or custom.

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spirits he very much raised. He then sent for his army out of Gaul, and, as soon as it had joined him, he passed the Po, with a design to keep the barbarians out of that part of Italy which lies to the south of that river. But they, pretending they were in expectation of the Teutones, and wondering they were so long in coming, deferred the battle; either being really ignorant of their defeat, or at least being willing to seem so; for they very severely punished those who brought them that news, and sent to Marius, to require some part of the country for them and their brethren, and cities fit for them to inhabit. When Marius enquired of the ambassadors who their brethren were, and they answered that they were the Teutones, the whole assembly fell a laughing, and Marius scoffingly replied, "Do not trouble yourselves for your brethren, for we have already provided lands for them, which they shall possess for ever." The ambassadors, perceiving the irony, railed at him, and threatened that the Cimbri would soon make him smart for it, and the Teutones too when they came, "and they are not far off," replied Marius; "it will be very unkind of you to go away before you have saluted and embraced your brethren." At the same time he commanded the kings of the

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Teutones to be brought in loaded with irons; for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavouring to escape over the Alps. As soon as the ambassadors were returned, and had made their report to the Cimbri, they marched immediately against Marius, who lay still, and remained within his trenches. Bojorix, king of the Cimbri, came with a small party of horse to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and place where they might meet, and determine to whom the country should belong. Marius answered, That the Romans never consulted their enemies when to fight, however he would gratify the Cimbri so far. Accordingly they pitched upon the third day after; and the place appointed was the plain near Vercellæ, which was both convenient for the Roman horse, and afforded room for the enemy to display their numbers. They both observed the time appointed, and drew out their forces. Catulus had under his command 20,300 men, and Marius 32,000, who were placed in the two wings, leaving Catulus in the centre. Sylla, who was present at the fight, gave this account, and said that Marius drew up his army in this order out of malice to Catulus; for it being usual, when the front of an army is of great ex-

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tent, for the wings to advance before the main body, Marius hoped to fall upon the enemy and rout them with part of his army, and thereby secure to himself and his soldiers the honour of the victory, before Catulus could have time to come up to the charge with those under his command. Catulus himself alleged this in vindication of his honour, and complained loudly of Marius for this artful and ungenerous behaviour. The infantry of the Cimbri marched quietly out of their trenches, having their flanks equal to their front; insomuch that their form of battle was a square, every side taking up thirty furlongs. Their horse were 15,000 in number, and made a very splendid appearance. They wore helmets formed like the jaws and muzzles of all sorts of wild beasts; on these were fixed plumes like wings of a prodigious height, which made them still larger than they were. Their breast plates were of iron, and their shields were bright and glittering. For their offensive arms, every one had two-edged darts, and when they came hand to hand, they used great and heavy swords. In this engagement they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but, wheeling to the right, they endeavoured to enclose them by little and little, and get the enemy between them and

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their infantry, who were placed on the left. The Roman commanders soon perceived the design, but could not contain the soldiers; for one of them happening to cry out that the enemy fled, they all hastened to pursue them; while the barbarian foot came on moving like a vast ocean. Here Marius, having washed his hands, lifted them up toward heaven, and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus too in the same posture solemnly promised to consecrate a temple to the fortune of that day. They say that Marius no sooner saw the victim which they showed to him as he was sacrificing, but he cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is mine." However, when the battle was joined an accident happened, which, as Sylla relates, seemed an instance of the divine vengeance upon Marius; for a great dust being raised, which (as it might very probably happen) almost covered both the armies, he, moving with his troops first to the charge, had the misfortune to miss the enemy in that general obscurity, and, having passed by their army, wandered up and down in the plain without knowing where he was. In the mean time it was the good fortune of Catulus that the enemy fell upon him, so that he only and the soldiers under his command bore the chief brunt

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of the battle. The heat of the weather, and the sun which shone full upon the Cimbri, proved of great advantage to the Romans. For the Cimbri, who were capable of enduring the severest cold, having been bred in frozen climates, and shady countries, were not able to support the excessive heat; their bodies ran down with sweat, they panted for want of breath, and were obliged to hold their shields up before their faces, to screen them from the sun; for this battle was fought not long after the summer solstice, or, as the Romans reckon, about the third of the calends of August, then called Sextilis. At the same time the dust proved as serviceable to the Romans as the sun, giving no small addition to their courage, as it hid the enemy, so that they could not afar off discover their number; but every one advancing to encounter those that were nearest, they were come to close engagement before the sight of so vast a multitude had struck terror into them. The Romans were so much used to labour, and so well exercised, that in all the heat and toil of the encounter, not one of them was observed either to sweat, or to be out of breath. The greatest part and the most valiant of the enemy were cut in pieces; for those who fought in the front were fast tied to one another with

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long cords put through their belts, to hinder them from breaking their ranks, or falling into disorder.[4] The Romans pursued those that fled into their camp, where they saw a most horrid tragedy; the women, standing in mourning by their carriages,[5] slew all that fled; some their husbands, some their bretheren, others their fathers; and strangling their little children with their own hands, they threw them under the wheels, and horses feet, and last of all killed themselves. They tell us of one that was hanging on the very top of a waggon, with her children tied at her heels. The men, for want of trees, tied themselves by the neck, some to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, that so pricking them on, by the starting and springing of the beasts they might be torn and trodden to pieces. Yet, though they thus massacred themselves, above 60,000 were taken prisoners, and those that were slain were said to be twice as many.[6] The ordinary plunder Marius's soldiers

[4] This was never practised by the Gauls.

[5] The Cimbrians, as we learn from Pliny, usually conveyed their houses (such as they were) upon carriages. (B. viii, C. 40.)

[6] Here is no mention made of those that escaped, whose posterity, it is said, are still remaining in the mountains north of

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forcibly took away; but the other spoils, as ensigns, trumpets, and the like, they say, were brought to Catulus's camp, which he used as an argument that the victory was obtained by himself and his army. Nevertheless the whole glory of the action was ascribed to Marius, by reason of his former victory, and his present authority. The populace more especially stiled him the third founder of their city, as having diverted a danger no less threatening than that which Rome had formerly experienced from the Gauls. Every one rejoiced at home with his wife and children, sacrificed to the gods and to Marius, and would have given him alone the honour of both the triumphs. This he would not consent to, but triumphed together with Catulus, being desirous to show his moderation even in the height of good fortune; beside, he was not a little afraid of the soldiers of Catulus's army, lest if he should wholly bereave their general of the honour, they should endeavour to hinder him of his triumph.[7]

Verona and Vicenza, their language, "which was thought to be a corrupt German," being "upon a closer enquiry, found to be very pure Danish." Signor Marco Pezzo has written a very learned dissertation on this subject.

[7] Plutarch, *Life of Marius*. Florus says, that the king of the *Teutoni*, whom he calls *Theutobochus*, who was used to vault

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over four or six horses, and had with much ado mounted one when he fled, being seized in the next forest, (he is speaking of the first battle, at *Aquæ Sextiæ*,) was a remarkable spectacle in the triumph; for being a man of extraordinary tallness, he appeared above the trophies. B. iii, C. 3. Bojorix, king of the Cimbri, according to this author, died valiantly fighting in the battle. The third body, he says, which was that of the Tigurini, which, as it were by way of reserve, had posted themselves in the Norican hills in the Alps, (but who are never once named by Plutarch) slipping off different ways, by obscure flight and robberies, at last quite vanished. Eutropius says, that Marius, having engaged the *Cimbri*, took 200,000 of them in two battles, and their general *Teutobodus*." B. v, S. 1.

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APPENDIX.

No. V.

Of the Cassiterides.

THESE islands are first mentioned by Herodotus. "I have nothing certain," says he, "to relate concerning the western bounds of Europe. I know as little of the islands called *Cassiterides*, from the tin which is thence imported among us." [1]

[1] B. iii. "When the first dawn of Grecian science rises upon the west of Europe, in the time of Herodotus, we find that this writer calls the islands of *Britain* and *Ireland* CASSITERIDES, a name implying the *isles of tin*." (*Enquiry into Scotish history*, I. 31.) This passage, the very commencement of the work, affords, it must be confessed, a very unpromising specimen of the authours fidelity. His etymology, also, of κασσιτερος, *stannum*, from κασσα, *meretrix*, seems as ill founded, as his quotation is unfaithful. Rufus Festus Avienus, having mentioned Iberia, says

"——— *Cassius* inde *mons* tumet:
Et Graja ab ipso lingua *Cassiterum* prius
Stannum vocavit." (*Ora maritima*, V. 259.)

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"Above Lusitania," says Diodorus, "there is much of this tin metal that is in the islands lying in the ocean over-against Iberia, which are, therefore, called *Cassiterides*; and much of it, likewise, is transported out of Britain into Gaul."[2]

"Of the land inhabited," says Strabo, "the most western point is the promontory of Spain, which is called *sacred*, situate almost in that line which passes through *Gades*, the pillars, the streights of Sicily and Rhodia. Thence, toward the south, runs Africa. But those who sail into the contrary part, toward the north, direct their course from the *sacred promontory* to the *Artabri*, having *Lusitania* on the right hand: and then, for the rest, toward the east, in an obtuse angle, unto the furthest Pyrenees, which terminate in the ocean. To these the western parts of Britain are opposite toward the north. Also to the *Artabri*, toward the north,[3] are opposed the islands *Cattiterides* (as if you should say *stannaries*,)

Stephen of Byzantium mentions "*Cassitira*, an island in the ocean, bordering upon India, witness Dionysius in his *Bassaricks*, whence tin is brought."

[2] B. v, C. 2. Strabo has nearly the same words, B. iii, p. 147.

[3] *North* is a palpable error for *east*. *The sacred promontory* is Cape St. Vincent. The *Artabri* were a people of *Hispania*

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in the main sea, and situate nearly in the climate of Britain."[4]

Ptolemy, under the title of "the situation of Tarraconian Spain," now Murcia, Valentia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Asturias, Gallicia, Leon, and the two Castilles, mentions ten islands in the western ocean called *Cattiterides*; beside two islands, *Of the gods*; with their mean degrees of longitude and latitude.[5] The latitude of the *Cattiterides* is also that of cape Finisterre.

"Near to the sacred promontory, which they reckon the head of Europe," as we are told by Dionysius Periegetes, "and in the islands *Hesperides* [*i. e.* western], where is the origin of tin, the wealthy sons of the Iberians inhabit."[6] Eustathius, his scholiast, says, expressly, these islands are the *Cassiterides*; a name which does not occur in the original text.

"In the parts of the *Celtici*," says Pomponius Mela, "are certain islands, which, because they abound in lead, all, by one name, call *Cassiteridæ*."[7]

Tarraconensis, now the extreme part of Gallicia, where is the famous city of *Santiago de Compostella*.

[4] B. ii, p. 120. [5] B. ii, C. 6. [6] V. 561-3.

[7] B. iii, C. 6. The *Celtici* were a nation in Spain, bordering upon Lusitania, or present Portugal.

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"Opposite Celtiberia," according to Pliny, "are many islands called by the Greeks *Cassiterides*, from a plenty of lead."[8] "Midacritus," he elsewhere informs us, "first brought lead out of the island *Cassiteris*."[9] In another part of his work, speaking of the nature of lead, of which there were two sorts, black and white, he observes, "the most precious is white, by the Greeks called *Cassiteron*, and fabulously reported to be sought for in the islands of the Atlantic sea, and to be carried in wicker boats covered with leather."[1]

Solinus, following Pliny, says, "The islands

[8] B. iv, C. 22. "And without (or beyond) the region of the *Arrotrebæ*," he adds, "are six [islands called] *Of the gods*, which others have called *The fortunate*." The promontory of the *Arrotrebæ*, or *Artabri*, he has already called *The Celtic promontory*; now Cape Finisterre.

[9] B. vii, C. 56. This *Midacritus*, Harduin thinks, ought to be *Midas Phrygius*, who is said by two ancient writers (Hyginus and Cassiodorus), to have first found out lead.

[1] B. xxxiv, C. 16. According to Timæus, the island *Mictis*, in which white lead grew, was distant from Britain six days sail. The Britons sailed thither in the same sort of boats. (B. iv, C. 17.) This has been conjectured to mean *Vectis*, or the isle of Wight; but the isle of Wight is not even six hours sail from Britain.

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Cassiterides lie opposite to the coast of *Celtiberia* fertile of lead."[2]

It appears plain and manifest, from these passages, that the *Cassiterides* of the ancients, very far from being the British isles, were the *Azores* of the Portuguese, and *The Western islands* of the English, the latter, in Greek *Hesperides*, being, likewise, another ancient name of those islands. The *Azores*, or *Western islands*, lie in the middle of the north Atlantic ocean, directly opposite to Lisbon, in longitude 30 degrees, in latitude 40, and are nine in number.[3] The *fortunate islands* are the Canaries, which are on the coast of Africa.[4] The *Madeiras*, somewhat higher, on the same coast, do not appear to have been known to the ancients.

"Without the pillars [of Hercules]," says

[2] C. 23. The title of this chapter (which is 25 in some editions, and 26 in others) is "*De* Hispania, Gaditano freto, *interno* [or *et mediterraneo*] *mari*, *&* [or *de*] oceano." The word *latus* for coast, and *adversus* for opposite always imply *latitude*. (Idem.)

[3] Cluvier makes the *Hesperides* (which, by the way, we see is, in a modern language, the name of the *Cassiterides* at this day) the Cape-de-Verd islands, which are *ten* in number; but the Cape-de-Verd islands, at any rate, could never be the head of Europe.

[4] See Pliny, B. vi, C. 32.

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Strabo, "are *Gades* [now Cadiz], the *Cassiterides*, and *the British isles*:"[5] a decisive proof that the *Cassiterides* and *the British isles*, could not, possibly, be one and the same.

Again: Posidonius, he says, adds, moreover, that tin was not, as historical writers divulge, to be found on the surface of the earth, but that it was dug up, and borne, among the barbarians who dwelled above Lusitania, and in the isles *Cassiterides* (as if you should say *stannaries*); and that it was brought, also, from the British isles to Massilia.[6] In this instance, likewise, the *Cassiterides* are explicitly distinguished from *the British isles*, by an author far anterior to Strabo.

"The islands *Cassiterides*," according to the latter, "are ten in number, near each other, from the port of the *Artabri* [or *Arothrebæ*, a Celtic nation inhabiting the west coast of Spain, now Galicia], toward the north, situated in the main sea. One of them is deserted. The rest are inhabited by men carrying black garments, wearing tunicks hanging down to their ancles, girded over the breast, walking with sticks, nourishing their beards like those of goats. They live upon

[5] B. ii, p. 129. These imaginary pillars are what Pindar calls πὼλας Γαδειριδας, now the streights of Gibraltar.

[6] B. iii, p. 147.

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cattle, wandering almost without any settled habitation. They have metals of tin and lead, in lieu of which, and of skins, they receive, from merchants, vessels, salt, and brass-ware. At first the Phœnicians alone went thither from *Gades* to traffick, concealing from others this voyage. But, as the Romans followed a certain master of a ship, that they also, might discover these marts, he, induced by envy, of set purpose, ran his ship aground; and, they who followed, undergoing the same destruction, he himself, being preserved from shipwreck, received the value of what he had lost out of the public treasury. However, the Romans, after repeated trials, learned the voyage. Afterward, Publius Crassus, when he sailed thither, and saw that the metals were dug not deep, and that men, studious of peace, and possessing abundant leisure, applied themselves also to navigation, shewed it to those willing to go: although a sea were to be navigated wider than that which extends from thence to Britain."

A certain modern writer, in allusion to this passage, asserts it to be "well known" that the *Phœnicians* "traded to *Britain* and Ireland, from their Spanish colonies, perhaps a thousand years before our æra;" and that "Strabo tells us, they

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imported to *Britain* earthen vessels, salt, iron, and copper goods; and exported skins, but, above all, tin;" perverting the name *Cassiterides* into that of *Britain*, and even foisting in the word *iron*, which does not occur in any one copy of the work. Nothing, however, is more certain than that no Phœnicians, in any age, ever traded with Britain, or even once visited the British coast, if, that is, we are to recur for information on such subjects to the most ancient and authentic historians or geographers of Greece and Rome, and not to the inventions and impostures of knaves and fools. It is no less false that *Britain* and *Ireland* were ever once called *Cassiterides*.

It is very true, at the same time, that Richard of Cirencester attributes the name of *Cassiterides*, as well as that of *Sygdiles* (from the itinerary of Antoninus), and (from Rufus Festus Avienus) *Oestrominides*, to what are now called *the Scilly islands*;[7] but, unquestionably, a monk of Westminster, in the fourteenth century, let his materials have been what they might, though even supported by the testimony of Camden, who does not, however, appear to have met with his work, can have little weight in opposition to the

[7] Solinus is thought to mean them by the name of *Silura*, or *Silures*, and Sulpitius by that of *Silinæ*.

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united testimonies of Diodorus, Strabo, Dionysius, Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemy, setting aside Solinus, who is the least ancient, and, respectable. Had the Scilly island been intended by any ancient author, under the name of *Cassiterides*, he would, surely, have described them in relation to *Gaul*, to which they are much nearer than they are to *Spain*.

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APPENDIX.

No. VI.

Of Thulé.

PYTHEAS said that Thulé was distant from the isle of Britain six days sail, neighbour to the icy sea.[1] He, also, about Thulé, described it to be the most northern and the last of the British isles, where the summer tropic takes place of the arctic circle: of the rest he related nothing, neither that Thulé was an island, nor whether habitations reached so far, when the tropic is for the arctic.[2]

"More obscure also is the history of Thulé [than that of Ireland], by reason of its distant situation, for of all those islands, of which the names are reported, they say, this is the furthest

[1] Strabo, B. i, p. 63. The relation of Pytheas has been lost since the 5th century, when it appears to have been in the hands of Stephen of Byzantium.

[2] Idem, B. ii, p. 114.

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chiefly toward the north. That those things are idle which Pytheas says of it appears from the places known to us concerning which he has told a great many lies, which also, says our author, "we have above shewn; that for him to have feigned more about those afar off is not doubtful.[3]"

"Who in his senses will take the interval, which Pytheas puts from the Borysthenes to Thulé, for truth? When, also, Pytheas, who wrote the history of Thulé, is found a most lying fellow; and those who have seen British Iberia say nothing of Thulé, but commemorate certain other little islands about Britain."[4]

"At length," says Agathemer, "the twenty-first, most north of all, written by Thulé, beyond which nothing more northern is found by men: distant from the equator 63 degrees and 8 hours, of which the longitude is of 40,854 *stadii*. There occurs a difference of the hour by two degrees."[5]

"You will pass into the island of Thulé," says Dionysius Periegetes, "in a well built ship, where, truly, the sun, advancing to the pole of

[3] Strabo, B. iv, p. 20. [4] B. xi, p. 65.
[5] B. i, C. 8. A *stadium* was 125 paces.

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the bears, by day and night, at the same time, a conspicuous light is always shed."[6]

Claudian, in honour of Theodosius, says

"——— quem littus adustæ
Horrescit Libyæ, ratibusque impervia *Thule*."[7]

Again:

"——— Incaluit Pictorum sanguine *Thule*."[8]

Again:

"Te vel Hyperboreo damnatum sidere *Thulen*."[9]

Again:

"Terruit oceanum, et nostræ procul axe remotam,
Insolito belli tremefecit murmure *Thulen*."[1]

"Thulé," says Pomponius Mela, is opposite to the coast of the Belcæ (Belgians), celebrated in the Greek and Latin poems. In it, because the sun, not long about to set, rises up, the nights also are short; but throughout the winter, as elsewhere, obscure; in summer bright; because through that time, he, carrying himself higher, although he is not perceived, illustrates the places near at hand by neighbouring splendour: but through the solstice none, because then more

[6] Strabo, V. 581.
[7] *De* III. *con. Honorii*, V. 52.
[8] *De* IV. *con. Hon.* V. 32.
[9] *In Rufinum*, L. 2, V. 240.
[1] *In bello Getico*, V. 203.

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manifestly not brightness only, but also his greatest part he shews.[2]

Even Virgil makes mention of Thulê:

"——— tibi serviat ultima *Thulé*." [3]

And Juvenal also:

"Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos:
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore *Thulé*." [4]

"Beyond all the islands which are remembered is Thulé: in which in the solstice we have indicated that, the sun passing the sign of Cancer, there are no nights, and no days, on the other hand, through the winter. This some think to be six continual months. Timæus the historian says, that the island *Mictis* is six days sail from Britain, in which island grows the white lead. Thither the Britons sail in wicker boats, sewed round with leather. There are those, likewise, who mention others, *Scandia*, *Dumna*, *Bergos*, and the greatest of all *Nerigon*, from which it is navigated into Thulé. From Thulé one days sail is the frozen sea, called by some the *Cronium*.[5]

[2] B. i, p. 63. [3] *Geor.* B. i, V. 30. [4] S. 15, V. 3.
[5] Pliny, B. iv, C. 16. In B. ii, C. 75, it is not Timæus, but Pytheas, as in Strabo.

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"Round the coast of this [the northern or Caledonian] sea, which beyond it," according to Tacitus, "has no land, the Roman fleet now first sailed, and thence proved Britain to be an island, as also discovered and subdued the isles of Orkney till then unknown. Thulé was, likewise, described, hitherto hid by winter under eternal snow." [8]

"There are many islands," as Solinus delivers, "round Britain, of which Thylé is the last, in which the sun, making a transit to the summer-solstice from the star of Cancer, there is almost no night, the day being so conducted in the brumal solstice that the rising is joined to the setting. From the promontory of Calidonia, to those seeking Thylé, after a navigation of two days, *Hebudes* islands follow. From the Orkneys to Thylé is a navigation of five days and nights. But Thylé is large and copious in continual apples. Those who inhabit there live in the beginning of spring upon fodder among their cattle, afterward upon milk. They spare the fruit of trees for winter. They use wives in common, certain marriage to none. Beyond Thylé is the sluggish and concrete sea." [9]

[8] *Life of Agricola.* [9] C. 22.

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Above the Orcades, says Ptolemy, is Thulé, of which island he gives minutely the degrees of longitude and latitude.

Orosius, having stated that Britain hath the islands Orcadæ at its back, adds, Then the island *Thulé*, which by the infinite sea separated from the rest toward the south is placed in the middle of the ocean, scarcely known to few.[1] King Alfred, in his Saxon version of Orosius, says, "Đonne be þeȝtan noꝛðan Ibeꝛnia iȝ þæt ýtemeꝛce land. þæt man hæt Thila. ȝ hit iȝ ȝeapum mannum cuð. ꝛoꝛ þæꝛe oꝛeꝛ ȝýꝛꝛe."[2]

That Saxo, by *Thylen* and *Thylenses* every where signifies *Iceland*, and the *Icelanders*, is certain; but that *Iceland*, which was then uninhabited, is not the *Thulé* of the ancients, is evinced by Arngrim Jonas, an *Icelander*, in the first book of his *Res Islandicæ*, page 15;[3] and D'Anville, relying on the account given by Strabo and Pliny, concludes it to be *Shetland*, and this opinion seems universally adopted.

In Zieglers *Schondia*, he says, "Island, that is, icy land: this is Tylé," (p. 480.)

[1] B. i, C. 2.

[2] B. i, p. 30. *i. e.* "Then to the north-west of Ireland is that utmost land, that men hight *Thila*, and it is by few men known, for it is over far. In Fusters map *Thila* is *Ireland*.

[3] Torfæus, *Series regum Daniæ*, 317; Stephens *Notæ in Saxonem*, 172.

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APPENDIX.

No. VII.

Of the island called Silimnus or Silura.

SOLINUS, after the description of Hibernia, proceeds as follows: "Siluram quoque insulam ab ora, quam gens Britanna Dumnonii tenent, turbidum fretum distinguit: cujus homines etiamnum custodiunt morem vetustum: nummum refutant: dant res, et accipiunt: mutationibus necessaria potius quàm pretiis parant: deos percolunt: scientiam futurorum pariter viri ac fœminæ ostentant."[1] Saumaise would rather read *Silinnas quoque insulas* or *Silimnam insulam:* Sulpicius Severus having remembered the *Sillinas insulas,* whither Maximus had banished certain heretics.[2] Ptolemy mentions the *Domnonii,* whom Richard calls *Damnonii:* they were the inhabitants of *Devonshire:* but neither takes notice of such an island

[1] C. 22. [2] *Plinianæ exercitationes,* 174.

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as *Silimna* or *Silura* in that quarter. Pliny, [by whom it is first mentioned] places his *Silimnus insula* between Britain and Ireland, where Ptolemy has an island which he calls *Limnou*, and Richard, *Limnia*. Saumause conjectures that the *Silimnus* of Pliny is the *Limnou* of Ptolemy, which should have been *Silimnou*. It was in Ptolemys time a wilderness; so that the fine account furnished by Solinus seems perfectly fabulous. That "the chief of the Scilly isles is called *Silura* by Solinus,"[3] is as little true as that "the *Dumnonii* were *Silures*." Richard of Cirencester calls the Scilly-islands *Sygdiles*, *Oestrominides*, and, in his map, in violation of all ancient authority, *Cassiterides*. Moreover the *Silura* or *Silimna* of Solinus is a single island, whereas the *Sygdiles*, or Scilly-islands, according to Borlase, who visited them, "are now reckoned more than an hundred and forty."

[3] Pinkertons *Enquiry*, I, 27. "In Richards book," he says, always to be cautiously used, WE FIND CIMBRI among the SILURES." This is also untrue: they are placed on the *opposite side* of the *Severn-sea*.

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APPENDIX.

No. VIII.

Celtic words, preserved by ancient writers.

ALAUDA, a lark; also, a name given by Cæsar to a legion raised in Transalpine Gaul. The original word is said to have been *alou*, whence the modern French *alouette*. The more ancient Roman term for the above bird was *galerita*.

Albicratense, the name of a metal, in Gaul. Pliny, B. xxxiii. C. 4.

Alica, a drink used by the Britons. Pliny.

Aliungia, nard. Dioscorides, B. i. C. 7.

Alpes, high mountains; as those between Gaul and Italy, the Pennine, Carpathian, and Transylvanian Alps, and (according to Protarchus as quoted by Stephen of Byzantium) the Riphæan mountains. Isidore, Servius, and Philargyrius.

Ambacti, the vassals or clients of the Gaulish nobles. Cæsar.

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Angus, a lance or halberd. Eusta.

Arepennis, a half-acre of land. Columella, B. v, C. 1.

Bardus, a singer. Festus. *Bardh*, in Welsh, is a *poet*, as *Ba'rd* is in Irish.

Bascauda, a basket. Juvenal, B. xvi; Martial, B. xiv. *Basged*, Welsh; *Bascaéid*, or *basceid*, Irish.

Benna, a sort of carriage, whence those sitting in it were called *Combennones*. Festus.

Bona, a usual termination in the name of a Gallic city, as *Vindobona*, *Brigobona*, *Juliobona*, and *Augustobona*.

Braccæ, some kind of breeches; whence a part of Transalpine Gaul obtained the appellation of *Gallia braccata*. Diodorus, &c.

Brance, a species of corn, called by the Romans *sandalum*. Pliny, B. xviii, C. 7.

Bulgas, little bags, or satchels, made of leather. Festus.

Candetum, a space, in cities, of 100 feet; in plough land, of 150. Columella, B. v, C. 1.

Cervisia, ale, or malt liquor. Pliny, B. xxii.

Cimbri, robbers. Festus. Plutarch, however, says that the word has that signification in *German*.

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Corma, the same liquor as *Zythus,* but without honey. Athenæus, B. iv.

Dercoma, a mixture of wine and water, the beverage of the rich Gauls. Athenæus.

Dunum, a spacious hill, or wide place. Treatise of the names of rivers and mountains, attributed (unjustly) to Plutarch. It is a common termination of the name of a Celtic city, as *Noviodunum, Vellaunodunum, Camalodunum,* &c. &c. *Dun,* in Irish, means a strong or fortified house, a fortress, or fastness. Our English word *down* has nearly the sense of the Celtic *Dunum,* and is most probably from the British.

Durum, an ordinary termination in the name of Gallic cities, designing a situation upon a river, as *Ebodurum, Ectodorum, Brivodurum,* &c.

Dusius, a dæmon, or incubus. St. Augustine, *De civitate dei,* L. 15, C. 23.

Eporedicare, good horse-breakers, Pliny.

Exacon, a species of centaury. Pliny, B. xxv, C. 6.

Galba, a very fat man. Suetonius. It was the name of a Roman emperor, as well as of a king of the *Suessiones.*

Gesa, a dart. Nonius Marcellus, C. 18. Hence the name of the *Gesata,* a nation of Cisalpine Gaul.

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Glastum, woad, with which the Britains stained their skins. Pliny, B. xxii, C. 1. The modern or Welsh name of this plant is *glaslys*; *glas* is blue, both in that and in the Armorican dialect. See Harduins note on the passage, and the dictionaries of Lhuyd and Pelletier. *Douglas* (*Dubhglas*, black-blue) is the common name of a river both in England and in Scotland.

Halus, Veneti *cotoneam*, *i. e.* bugle. Pliny, B. xxvi, C. 7.

Leuca, a mile. Isidore, B. xv, C. 16.

Limeum, a venomous herb, with which the Celtic huntsmen used to tinge their darts. Pliny.

Linnæ, square and soft Cassocks: of which Plautus: "Linnæ cooperta est *textrino* Gallia." Isidore, B. xix, C. 23.

Longa, a lance or halberd. Diodo.

Lugon, a crow, Treatise of the names of rivers, &c.

Marcas, a horse. Pausanias. *March* is also a *horse* in Welsh, as *Marc* is in Irish.

Marcos, those who cut off their thumbs, for fear of going to the wars. Am. Marcellinus.

Marga, a kind of limestone, used for manure. Pliny, B. xvii.

Murmullonicum, a kind of armour so called.

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Those Gauls were called *Murmillones* in whose helmets was the effigy of a fish. Festus.

Ogmius, speech; the name of the Gallic Hercules, the god of eloquence. Lucian.

Passernices, whetstones. Pliny, B. xxxvi, C. 22.

Petora, four. Festus.

Petoritum, a sort of carriage, with four wheels. Festus.

Reno, skins of beasts; a kind of habit. See Varro, B. iv, and Scaligers note. This dress is referred by Sallust, Cæsar, and Isidore to the Germans.

Rhodora, a certain herb. Pliny, B. xxiv, C. 17.

Rufias, the animal called by the Romans *Chama* (*lupus cervarius.*) Pliny, B. viii, C. 19.

Rumex, a kind of dart like the Gallic *spar*. Festus.

Sagum, a cassock. Varro, B. iv. Isidore, B. xix, C. 24.

Santonicum, worm-wood. Pliny, B. xxvii, C. 7.

Sparus; a spear. P. Festus, p. 79; Non. Marcel. C. 18; Servius ad Æ. l. 11, v. 682.

Taurus, a bird which imitated the lowing of an ox. Pliny, B. x, C. 42.

Taxea, land. Isidore, B. xx, C. 2.

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Thureoi, wicker-shields. Pausanias.

Toles, or *Tusillas*, swellings in the throat. Isidore, B. viii, C. 11.

Toxicus, a poison used by the Celtic hunters to tinge their darts with. Aristotle.

Trimarcisias, a mode of fight by *three horsemen*, the master and his two servants, in which, the former being killed or wounded, one of the latter took his place, and the other, if needful, his. Pausanias.

Vela, a sort of grain, like sesama, which the Romans called *Irio*, and the Greeks *Eryssmon*. Pliny, B. xxii, C. 25.

Vergobret, the supreme magistrate of the Æduans. Cæsar.

Vetragi, Celtic dogs, very swift. Arrian, *De venatione*, p. 191.

Vettonica, betony. Pliny, B. xxv, C. 8.

Virga, purple. Servius.

Volemum, good and great. Isidore, B. xvii, C. 7.

Xythus, or *Zythus*, a drink made of barley. Diodo. B. v, C. 2. Athenæus, B. iv. Pliny mentions it as made in Egypt. (B. xxii, C. 25.)

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APPENDIX.

No. IX.

Specimens of Celtic dialects.

1. Welsh.

Ein tad yr hwn wyt yn y nefoedd, sancteidier dy enw, deued dy deyrnas, bydded dy ewyllys ar y ddaear, megis y mae yn y nefoedd. Dyro i ni hiddyw ein bara beunyddiol. A maddeu i ni ein dyledion, fel y maddeuwn ni i'n dyledwyr. Ac nac arwain ni i brofedigaeth; eithr gwared ni rhag drwg: canys eiddot ti yw'r deyrnas, a'r gallu, a'r gogoniant yn oes oesoedd, *Amen*.[1]

[1] Llyfr gweddi-gyffredin, &c. (the book of common prayer) Mwythig, 1760, 8vo. See an older specimen in Chamberlaynes *Oratio dominica*, Am. 1715, 4to p. 47. Another is added under the title *Wallice*, which is, certainly, neither Welsh nor Celtic.

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2. Cornish.

An taz ny es yn nêf, bethens thy hannow ughelles, gwrênz doz thy gulasker: bethens thy voth gwreîz yn oar kepare hag yn nêf. Ro thyn ny hithow agan peb dyth bara; gava thyn ny agan cam, kepare ha gava ny neb es cam me erbyn ny: nyn hombrek ny en antel, mez gwyth ny the worth drok: rag gans te yn an mighterneth, an creveder, hag an' worryans, byz a venitha. *An dellna ra bo.*[2]

3. Irish.

Ar nathair atá air neamh, náomhthar hainm: tigeadh do rioghachd. Deúntar do thoil ar an ttalamh, mar do nithear ar neamh. Ar narán laéthamhail tabhair dhúinn a niu. Agus maith dhúinn ar bhfíacha, mar mhaithmídne dar bhféi theamhnuibh fein. Agus na léig sinn a ecathughadh, achd sáor inn ó olc. Oir is leachd féin an rioghachd, & an cum hachd, agus an ghloir go siórruighe. Amen.[3]

[2] Pryce's *Archæologia Cornu-Britannica*, Sherborne, 1790, 4to. This is the *ancient Cornish*: there is another specimen, *in modern*.

[3] Tiomna nuadh, Lunnduin, 1690, 8vo,

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4. Gaelic, or Erse.[4]

Ar nathair ata air neamh, gu naomhaichear t ainm. Tigeadh do rioghachd. Deanthar do thoil air an talamh mar a nithear air neamh. Ta bhair dhuinn an diuar naran laitheil. Agus maith dhuinn ar fiacha, amhuil mar mhaithmid d 'ar luchd-fiachaibh. Agus na leig am buaidhreadh sinn, ach saor sinn o olc: Oir is leatsa an rioghachd, agus a' chum hachd, agus a' ghlóir, gu siorruidh. Amen.[5]

5. Armorican.

Hon tat pching son in acou'n. Oth hano bezet sanctifiet. De vel de ompho rouantelez. Ha volonte bezet gret voar an douar evel en coûn. Roit dezomp hinon hon bara bemdezier. Ha pardon nil dezomp hon offançon evel ma pardonnomte d'ac re odeus hon offançet. Ha n'hon

[4] *Gaelic (Gaioileag* or *Gaoidhleag)* is a common name of both the Irish and Erse (being in reality one and the same language, and the latter word merely a corruption of the former); but to distinguish the dialects the one is called *Gaidhlig Albannaich* (i. e. Scotish Gaelic), the other *Gaidhlig Erinach* (i. e. Irish Gaelic).

[5] Tiomnadh nuadh. Dun-Eudain, 1767, 8vo.

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digaçit quel è tentation. Hogen delivrit a drove. Amen.[6]

6. Waldenese.

Our narme ata air neamb'. Beanich atanim. Gu diga do riogda. Gu denta du hoill, air talm' in mar ta ar neamb'. Tabhar d'im an mſigh ar naran limb' ail. Agus mai d'úine ar fiach ambail near marhmhid ar fiacha. Na leig si'n amb' aribh ach soarsa shin on Ole or sletsa rioghta combta agus gloir gnsibhiri. Amen.[7]

[8] 7. Manks.

Ayr ain, t'ayns niau; casherick dy row dt' ennym. Dy jig dty reeriaght. Dt' aigney dy row jeant er y 'thalloo,' myr te ayns niau. Cur dooin nyn arran jiu as gagh laa. As leih dooin nyn

[6] Chamberlaynes *Oratio dominica*, Amstelædami, 1715, 4to. p. 51. There are two other specimens.

[7] *Ibi.* p. 39. O'Conor in his "Dissertations on the history of Ireland," Dublin, 1766, 8vo. p. 33, gives this as "a specimen of the Celtic," "accidentally discovered," he says by the "late Dr. Anthony Raymond," whose "Introduction to the history of Ireland," he refers to, p. 2, 3, 4, 5, and supposes it to "be of eight hundred, or a thonsand years standing."

[8] *Northern antiquities*, 1770, preface, p. xxxi. From the liturgy in Manks, printed at London, 1765, 8vo.

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loghtyn myr tashin leih dauesyn ta jannoo loghtyn nyn 'oï. As ny leeid shin ayns miolagh. Aghlivrey shin veih olk. Amen.

*** It is very doubtful, though by no means impossible, that the *Basque*, a language spoken by the present inhabitants of Biscay, is a dialect of the Celtic; but it certainly resembles none of those already given.[9] Specimens may be seen in Chamberlaynes *Oratio dominica*, pp. 43, 44.

[9] Except, perhaps, in the word *aita (pater)*, which may be thought akin to the British *Tuad*, the Armorican *Tad*, or Irish *Athair*. *Atta*, however, occurs, with the same sense, in the Gothic, as *Haita* does in Frisic.

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APPENDIX.

No. X.

Bibliotheca Celtica.

1. Les fleurs & antiquités des Gaules; où il est traité des anciens philosophes Gaulois, appellés Druides; avec la description des bois, forêts, vergers, & autres lieux de plaisir situés près la ville de Dreux; par Jean le Fevre, prêtre, natif de Dreux: Paris, 1532, 8vo. (In verse.)

2. Galliae Celticae, ac antiquitatis Lugdunensis civitatis, quæ caput est Celtarum campus. [A Symphoriano Campegio.] Lugduni, ex officina Melchioris et Gasparis Trechsel fratrum M.D.XXXVII. fo.

3. Le recueil de l'antiquité & préexcellence de la Gaule & des Gaulois; par Guillaume le Rouille, d'Alençon: Poitiers, 1546: Paris, Vechel, 1551, 8vo. (Fabulous and absurd.)

4. L'histoire mémorable des expéditions depuis

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le déluge, faites par les Gaulois ou François, depuis la France jusqu'en Asie, ou en Thrace, & en l'orientale partie de l'Europe, & des commodités ou incommodités des divers chemins pour y parvenir & retourner : le tout en brief ou épitome, &c. Par Guillaume Postel : Paris, Nivelle, 1552, 16mo.

5. Joannis Picardi Toutreriani De prisca Celtopædia, libri quinque. Quibus admiranda priscorum Gallorum doctrina & eruditio ostenditur, nec non literas prius in Gallia fuisse quàm in Græcia vel in Italia : simùlque Græcos nedum Latinos scientiam a priscis Gallis (quos vel ab ipso Noachi tempore Græcè philosophatos constat) habuisse : Parisiis, 1556, 4to.

Opuscules.)

6. Epitome de l'antiquìté des Gaules & de France, par Guillaume de Bellay, seigneur de Langey : Paris, 1556, 4to. (Avec ses Ópuscules.)

7. Petri Rami Liber de moribus veterum Gallorum : Parisiis, 1559, 1562; Basileæ, 1574 : Francofurti, 1584, 8vo.

8. Des mœurs des Gaulois, traduit du Latin de Pierre la Ramée; par Michel de Castelnau. Paris, 1559, 8vo.

9. Veterum Galliæ locorum, populorum, ur-

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bium, montium, ac fluviorum alphabetica descriptio, eorum maximè quæ apud Cæsarem in Commentariis sunt, & apud Cornelium Tacitum; autore Raymundo Marliano: Lugduni 1560; Venetiis, 1575, 8vo.

10. De gentium aliquot migrationibus, sedibus fixis, reliquiis, linguarumque initiis & immutationibus ac dialectis libri xii. in quibus præter cæteros populos Francorum, Alemannorum, Suevorum, Marcomanorum, Boiorum, Carnorum, Tauricorum, Celtarumque atque Gallo-Græcorum tribus, primordia & posteritas singulorum, quæque ex his insigniores principum comitumque ac nobilitatis totius Germaniæ, Latiique ac Galliæ stirpes processerunt, diligenter traduntur atque explicantur; auctore Wolfango Lazio, Viennensi Austriaco medico, & invictissimi Romani regis Ferdinandi historico: Basileæ, ex officinâ Oporiniana, 1572, fo. Francofurti, Marnius, 1610, fo. (A work of more industry than judgement; the author being too credulous.)

11. Les antiquitez Gauloises depuis l'an du monde 3350, jusqu'à Clovis, en deux livres, par Claude Fauchet, president de la cour des monnoyes: Paris, 1579, 4to.

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12. De Gallorum imperio & philosophiâ, libri octo: Stephano Forcatulo Biterrensi auctore: Parisiis, 1579, 4to. Genevæ, 1595, 8vo. (Fabulous.)

13. Opera Joannis Gropii, Becani, hactenus in lucem non edita: nempe Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, Vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica, Antuerpiæ, Plantin, 1580, fo.

14. Wolfgangi Prisbachii, Germani, Liber de moribus veterum Gallorum: Parisiis, 1584, 8vo.

15. Theodori Marsilii, de laudibus Galliæ, oratio prima, in qua de primis hujusce imperii incunabilis, deque Galliæ, Celticæ & Franciæ nomine disputatur: Parisiis, 1584, 8vo.

16. De Gallorum & Germanorum moribus fragmentum, ex commentariorum Caii Julii Cæsaris libro sexto de bello Gallico, annotationibus Joannis Filescaci illustratum: Parisiis, à Prato, 1585, 8vo.

17. Histoire de l'état & république des Druides, Eubages, Sarronides, Bardes, Vacies, anciens François, gouverneurs du pays des Gaules, depuis le déluge jusqu'à la venue de Jesus Christ; avec leurs loix, police, ordonnances, & coutumes; par Noël Taillepied, Cordelier: Paris, 1585, 8vo. (Fabulous.)

18. Joannis Isaaci Pontani Itinerarium Galliæ

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Narbonensis, cum duplici appendice, id est, universæ fere Galliæ descriptione & glossario prisco Gallico, seu de lingua Gallorum veteri : Lugduni Batavorum, 1606, 12mo.

19. Catalogue des anciens rois & princes des Gaules, dites depuis France ; extrait des œuvres & histoires Gauloises de Paul de Riviere : Paris, 1610, 4to.

20. Catalogue des anciens rois & princes des Gaules (dites depuis France) ; par Etienne Percheron : 1610, 4to.

21 Franciscl Meinaidi, Orationis legitimæ quarum prima de visco Druidarum : Augustoriti-Pictonum, 1614, 8vo.

22. Adriani Seriecki, Rodorni, originum rerumque Celticarum & Belgicarum libri xxiii. Ypris, 1614, fo.

23. Adriani Seriecki, Monitorum secundorum libri quinque, quibus originum vocumque Celticarum opus suum nuper editum altius & auctius à fontibus Hebraicis ipsâque rerum origine docuit, probat, firmatque Teutones, Belgas &c. de verâ & falsâ origine monimentum, sive Europa rediviva : Ypris, 1615, fo.

24. Histoire des Gaules & conquêtes des Gaulois, en Italie, Grèce, & Asie, avec un abrégé de tout ce qui est arrivé de plus remarquable dès

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le tems que les Romains commencèrent à les assujettir à leur empire jusqu'au roi Jean ; par Antoine de Lestang, president au parlement de Toulouse, sieur de Belestang : Bourdeaux, 1618, 4to.

25. Le réveil de Chyndonax, prince des Vacies, Druides, Celtiques, Dijonnois, avec la sainteté, religion, & diversité des cérémonies observées aux anciennes sépultures ; par Jean Guenebault, Dijonnois : Dijon, 1621 : Paris, 1623, 4to.

26. Origine des Gaulois, leurs antiquités, leurs prééminences qu'ils ont sur toutes les nations du monde ; dédiée au roi par L. P. D. L. C. (Louis Paschal de la Court, de Carcassonne, prêtre). Paris, Thomas de la Ruelle, 1624, 8vo.

27. Mémoires des Gaules, depuis le déluge jusqu'à l'établissement de la monarchie Françoise ; avec l'état de l'église & de l'empire depuis la naissance de Jesus-Christ ; par Scipion Dupleix, lieutenant particulier, assesseur criminel au présidial de Condom : Paris, Sonnius, 1619, 4to.

28. Philippi Cluverii Germaniæ antiquæ l. III. Lugduni Batavorum, 1631, fo.

29. Florus Gallicus, sive rerum à veteribus Gallis bello gestarum epitome, in quatuor libris distincta ; auctore Petro Berthault, congrega-

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tionis oratorii presbytero, [deinde] canonico Carnotensi: Parisiis, 1632, 4to.: 1640, 1647, 12mo.: 1660, Coloniæ, 1651, 1659; Lugduni, 1671.

30. Historia veterum Gallorum; auctore Antonio Gosselino, Cadomensi, regis eloquentiæ & historiæ professore: Cadomi, 1636, 8vo.

31. De Ant. Gosleni vet. Gall. Historia judicium (Samuelis Bocharti): Cadomi, 1638, 12mo.

32. Jani Cæcilii Frey, Opuscula: Parisiis, 1640, 1646, 8vo. (Philosophia Druidarum.)

33. Eliæ Schedii De diis Germanis, sive De veteri Germanorum, Gallorum, Britannorum, Wandalorum religione syntagmata quatuor: Amstelædami, Elzevirii, 1648; Halæ, 1728, 8vo.

34. Esaiæ Puffendorff, Germani, Dissertatio de Druidibus: Lipsiæ, 1650, 4to.

35. Marci Zuerii Boxhornii originum Gallicarum liber. In quo veteris & nobilissimæ Gallorum gentis origines, antiquitates, mores, lingua & alia eruuntur & illustrantur. Cui accedit antiquæ linguæ Britannicæ lexicon Britannico-latinum, cum adjectis & insertis ejusdem authoris adagiis Britannicis sapientiæ veterum Druidum reliquiis, & aliis antiquitatis Britannicæ Gallicæque nonnullis monumentis. Amstelodami, apud Joannem Janssonium. ɔIↃIↃCLIV. 4to.

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36. Petri Lescaloperii Humanitas theologica sive commentarius in Ciceronem, de natura deorum: Parisiis, apud S. Cramoisi, 1660, fo. (De diis, seu theologia veterum Gallorum, p. 713.)

37. Thomæ Smith, Angli, Syntagma de Druidum moribus ac institutis; Londini, 1664. 8vo.

38. Historia Galliarum sub præfectis prætorio Galliarum; auctore Ægidio Lacarry, è societate Jesu: Claramonti, Jacquart, 1672, 4to.

39. Ulrici Obrechti Dissertatio de philosophiâ Celticâ: Argentorati, 1676, 4to.

40. Historia coloniarum tum à Gallis in exteris nationes missarum, cum exterarum nationum in Gallias deductarum; auctore Ægidio Lacarry, è societate Jesu: Claramonti, 1677, 4to.

41. Q. D. B. V. Ex historia civili, de Celtis publicè disputabunt præses M. Nicolaus Christoph. Remlingius, Curonus, & respondens Casparus Bether, Hojerswerdâ Lusatus, In Acroaterio minori, Anno cIↃIↃc Lxxviii. d. 2. Novembr. Wittenbergæ, Typis Christiani Schödterii, 4to.

42. Joan. Frid. Scrarfii, professoris Lipsiensis, Meletema historicum, De Gallorum Druidis, dissertationis academicæ formâ: Wittebergæ, 4to.

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43. Conradi Samuelis Schurzfleischii, Dissertatio de veterum Druidum institutis: Wittebergæ, 1697, 4to.

44. S. Waldius, De veterum Gallorum Druidibus.

45. Antiquité de la nation & de la langue des Celtes, autrement appellés Gaulois; par Paul Yves Pezron, de l'ordre de Citeaux: Paris, 1703, 12mo.

46. The Antiquities of Nations; more particularly of the *Celtæ* or Gauls, taken to be originally the same people as our ancient Britains. Containing great variety of historical, chronological, and etymological discoveries, many of them unknown both to the Greeks and Romans. By Monsieur Pezron, doctor in divinity, and abbot of La Charmoye in France. Englished by Mr. Jones. London: printed by R. Janeway, for S. Ballard, at the Blue-ball in Little Britain; and R. Burrough, at the sun and moon in Cornhill, 1706, 8vo.

47. Matthæi Hilleri, de origine gentium Celticarum, dissertatio: Tubingæ, 1707, 4to.

48. Leibnitzii Collectanea etymologica: Hanoveriæ, 1717, 8vo.

49 A specimen of the critical history of the Celtic religion and learning: containing an ac-

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count of the druids, of the priests and judges; of the Vaids, or the diviners and physicians; and of the bards, or the poets and heralds of the antient Gauls, Britons, Irish and Scots. With the history of Abaris the Hyperborean priest of the sun. In three letters to the right honourable the lord viscount Molesworth. (In "A collection of several pieces of Mr. John Toland, Now first publish'd from his original manuscripts. Volume I. London, 1726, 8vo.)

50. V. E. Loescheri, Literator Celta, seu de excolendâ literaturâ Europeâ, occidentali & septentrionali, consilium & conatus: Lipsiæ, 1726, 8vo.

51. Antiquitates selectæ septentrionales & Celticæ, quibus plurima loca conciliorum & capitularium explanantur, dogmata theologiæ ethnicæ Celtarum gentiumque septentrionalium, cum moribus & institutis majorum nostrorum circà idola, aras, oracula, templa, lucos, sacerdotes, regum electiones, comitia, & monumenta sepulchralia, unà cum reliquiis gentilismi in cœtibus Christianorum ex monumentis potissimùm hactenùs ineditis fusè perquiruntur; cum figuris æri incisis; auctore Joan. Georgio Keysleri, societatis regiæ Londinensis socio: Hanoveræ, 1728, 8vo.

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52. La religion des Gaulois, tirée des plus pures sources de l'antiquité. Par le R. P. dom *** [Martin] religieux Bénédictin de la congregation de S. Maur. (Deux tomes.) A Paris, 1728, 4to.

53. Henrici Cannegieteri Dissertatio de Brittemburgo, matribus Brittis, &c. Britannorumque antiquissimis per Galliam & Germaniam sedibus: Hagæ-comitum, de Hondt, 1734, 4to.

54. Recherches sur la manière d'inhumer des anciens, à l'occasion des tombeaux de Civaux en Poitu; par le P. B. R. (Bornard Routh) de la compagnie de Jesus: Poitiers, Faulcon, 1738, 12mo.

55. Recueil des historiens des Gaules & de la France. Tome premier. Contenant tout ce qui à été fait par les Gaulois, & qui s'est passé dans les Gaules avant l'arrivée des François. Par dom Martin Bouquet, prêtre & religieux Bénédictin de la congregation de Saint Maur. A Paris, aux dépens des libraires associés. M.DCC.XXXVIII, fo.

56. Histoire des Celtes, et particulièrement des Gaulois et des Germains, depuis les tems fabuleux, jusqu'à la prise de Rome par les Gaulois: Par Mr. Simon Pelloutier. A la Haye, M.DCC.XL. Deux tomes. A la Haye, chez Isaac

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Beauregard, M.D.CCL. 12mo, *Idem*, nouvelle édition, revuë, corrigée & augmentée d'un quatrième livre posthume de l'auteur, dediée à monseigneur le dauphin. Par M. de Chiniac, avocat au parlement, de l'académie royale des belles-lettres de Montauban. (Neuf tomes.) A Paris, de l'imprimerie de Guillau, rue du Fouarre. M.DCC.LXX. 12mo. (Deux tomes.) *Ibi.* M.DCC.LXXI. 4to.*

57. Marci Gottliebi Wernsdorffii, de republica Galatarum liber singularis; in quo gentis origo, status regiminis, mores & res gestæ fide scriptorum & numismatum antiquorum exponuntur, &c. Norimbergæ, 1743, 4to.

58. J. Georgii Frickii Commentatio de Druidis occidentalium populorum philosophis, multò quam anteà auctior & emendatior; accedunt opuscula quædam rariora, historiam & antiquitates druidarum illustrantia, itemque scriptorum de iisdem catalogus. Recensuit, singula digessit ac in lucem edidit frater germanus Albertus Frickius: Ulmæ, 1744, 4to. (First printed in 1731.)

59. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des

* This writer, misled by Cluvier (see Num. 28), confounds, like that and some other authors, the Gauls or Celts, with the Germans or Goths; and is, therefore, to be read with great caution.

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Gaulès et de la France ; dediés à messieurs de l'académie royale des inscriptions & belles lettres. Par M. Gibert. A Paris, au palais, chez Jean de Nully, à l'écu de France, & à la palme. M.DCC.XLIV. 8vo.

60. Eclaircissemens historiques sur les origines Celtiques et Gauloises. Avec les quatre premiers siècles des annales des Gaules. Par le R. P. D. *** [Jacques Martin], religieux Bénédictin, de la congrégation de S. Maur. A Paris, chez Durand, rue S. Jacques, au Griffon. M.DCC.XLIV. 12mo.

61. Observations historiques sur la nation Gauloise, sur son origine, sa valeur, ses exploits, sa puissance, avec l'établissement des Galates en Asie ; leur origine, leur mœurs, leur religion, & leur gouvernement ; par M. l'abbé D. (Dordelu.) Paris, 1746, 12mo.

62. Reflexions critiques sur les Observations de M. l'abbé D. où l'on fait voir la fausseté des conjectures de l'observateur sur l'origine, la puissance, & la valoir des Gaulois ; où l'on demontre aussi la distinction de deux Brennus, les plus fameux conquérans Gaulois ; par M. l'abbé A. (Armerye.) Paris, 1747, 12mo.

63. Jo. Georgius Eccardus, de origine Germanorum eorum vetutissimis coloniis, migrationibus ac rebus gestis. Ex schedis manu-

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scriptis edidit Christ. Ludov. Scheid : Gottingæ, 1750, 4to.

64. Histoire des Gaules & des conquêtes des Gaulois, depuis leur origine jusqu'à la fondation de la monarchie Françoise ; ouvrage enrichi de monumens antiques & de cartes géographiques ; par dom Jacques Martin, Bénédictin, & continué par dom Jean. François de Brezillac. Paris, 1752 & 1754, 4to. (2 volumes.)

65. Mémoires sur la langue Celtique... Contenant, 1°. L'histoire de cette langue, & une indication des sources où l'on peut la trouver aujourd'hui. 2°. une description étymologique des villes, rivieres, montagnes, forêts, curiosités naturelles des Gaules ; de la meilleure partie de l'Espagne, & de l'Italie, de la Grande Bretagne, dont les Gaulois ont été les premiers habitans. 3°. un dictionnaire Celtique renfermant tous les termes de cette langue. Par M. Bullet, premier professeur royal & doyen de la faculté de théologie de l'université de Besançon, de l'académie des sciences, belles-lettres & arts de la même ville. (Trois tomes.) A Besançon, chez. Cl. Jos. Daclin, imprimeur ordinaire du roi, de l'académie, &c. M DCC.LIV.LIX. fo. (Erroneous and injudicious.)

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66. Jo. Danielis Schoepflini Consil. reg. et Franciæ historiogr. Vindiciæ Celticæ. Argentorati apud Amand-König, bibliopol. MDCCLIV. 4to. (Learned, accurate, and decisive.)

67. Monumens de la mythologie & de la poësie des Celtes; par M. Mallet: Copenhague, 1756, 4to. (The author mistakes the Scandinavian Goths for the Celts.)

68. Northern antiquities: or, a description of the manners, customs, religion and laws of the ancient Danes, and other Northern nations, &c. In two volumes. Translated from Mons. Mallet's *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc*, &c. [By Thomas Percy, D. D.] London: printed for T. Carnan and Co. at No. 65, in St. Pauls Church-yard. MDCCLXX, 8vo. (The translators preface and notes.)

69. Epitome rerum Gallicarum ab origine gentis usque ad Romanorum imperium; auctore Joan. Frid. Oberlin: Argentorati, Heilzii, 1762, 4to.

70. Epitome rerum Gallicarum sub Romanorum imperio; ad ann. Chr. 430, auctore Joan. Lud. Redslob: Argentorati, Vid. Pauschingeri, (1762) 4to.

71. Discours sur la nature & les dogmes de la religion Gauloise, servant de preliminaire à

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l'histoire de l'église Gallicane; par M. de Chiniac de la Bastide du Clau: Paris, 1769, 12mo.

72. Recueil d'antiquités dans les Gaules; par M. de la Sauvagere: Paris, Herissant fils, 1770, 4to.

73. Monumentorum Galaticorum Synopsis, sive ad inscriptiones & numismata quæ ad res Galaticas spectant, breves conjecturæ: Liburni, 1772, 4to. (See Num. 57.)

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74. De l'origine, & de l'étymologie des mots *Celte* & *Gaule*; par M. Pasumot. (Mémoires geographiques; Paris, Ganeau, 1765, 12mo.)

75. De veterum Gallorum, Francorumque fortitudine aut præstantiâ; auctore Davide Blondello. (Assertio genealogiæ Francicæ adversus Chiffletum.)

76. Traité des anciennes mœurs, piété & religion des Gaulois; par du Fousteau. (Les curieuses singularités de France: Vendôme, 1631, 8vo.)

77. Première [& seconde] lettre sur le livre de M. Gibert, intitulé, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Gaules & de la France. (Bib. Françoise, tome xl, p. 40, 293. See Num. 59.)

78. Lettres de M. Pelletier, à M. Jordan, con-

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seiller privé (du roi de Prusse) pour servir de réponse aux objections qui lui ont été faites par M. Gibert. (Bib. Françoise, tome xli, page 231. See Num. 56 and 59.)

79. Lettre de M. Gibert, à M. N. en réponse à la critique de M. B. sur l'histoire des Gaules & de la France. (Mercure, 1745, Janvier, p. 22-42. See Num. 59.)

80. Réponse de M. Pelloutier, à des objections de M. Schoepflin, contre son histoire des Celtes. (Nouvelle Bib. Germanique, tome xxiv, p. 388-433; & tome xxv, p. 172-210. See Num. 56 and 66.)

81. Des Gaulois, des Druides, & des antiquités de la Gaule; par doms François & Tabouillot. (Histoire de Metz: Metz, 1769, 4to. tome I.)

82. Mémoire sur l'ordre politique des Gaules. Par l'abbé Belley. (Mémoires de litérature, &c. xix, 495.)

83. Mémoire sur ce que l'on sait du gouvernement politique des Gaules. (Histoire de l'académie, xl, 31.)

84. Dissertation sur les antiquités Celtiques. (Histoire de Paris, de dom Felibien, tome I.)

85. [Deux] Lettre[s] de M. P. à M de B. sur les Celtes. (Bib. Germanique, tome xxviii, page 33; tome xxix, page 207.)

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86. Des habits des Gaulois, de leur monnoyes, de leurs armes, de leurs funérailles & sépulchres; par le père Bernard de Montfaucon, Bénédictin de la congregation de saint Maur. (Antiquité expliquée, &c. Paris, 1719, fo.

87. Religion des anciens Gaulois, & (cérémonies des) Druides; par D. Bernard de Montfaucon, Bénédictin, &c. (Antiquité expliquée, &c. Paris, 1719, fo, tome 2, page 412, &c.)

88. Des Dieux de Gaulois, de leurs temples, ministres, &c. par M. l'abbé (Antoine) Banier, de l'académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres.

89. Discours sur la religion & les mœurs des anciens Gaulois, par le père de Longueval. (Histoire de l'église Gallicane; Paris, 1730, p 23.)

90. Observations sur la nature & les dogmes les plus connus de la religion Gauloise; par M. Freret. (Histoire de l'académie des belles-lettres, tome XVIII, page 182.)

91. Plan systématique de la religion & des dogmes des anciens Gaulois, &c, par M. l'abbé Fénel. (Mémoires de l'academie des belles-lettres, XXIV, p. 345.)

92. Observations sur la religion des Gaulois, & sur celle des Germains; par M. Freret. (Mémoires de l'académie des belles-lettres, XXIV, p. 389.)

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93. Sur la nature & les dogmes les plus connus de la religion Gauloise. (Histoire de l'académie, XVIII, 182.)

94. Lettre à M. de M. sur la religion des Gaulois. (Bib. Germanique, tome XXXVII, page 140.)

95. Scriptori cujusdam operis cui titulus, La religion des Gaulois, &c. (Mercure, 1742, Janvier, p. 79. See Num. 52.)

96. Josepho ap Hamon, &c. Ibi. Mars, p. 4.

97. Dissertation sur l'anciens Gaules, & en particulier sur les druides; par M. de Glatigny, avocat général de la cour des monnoyes de Lyon. (Œuvres posthumes, Lyon, 1758, 8vo.

98. Mémoires sur les druides; par M. Duclos. (Mémoires de l'académie des belles-lettres, tome XIX, page 483.)

99. Observation sur l'étymologie du nom des druides; par M. Freret. (Histoire de l'académie des belles-lettres, tome XVIII, page 185.)

100. Jo. Dan. Schoepflinus de religione Celtica & Druidibus; item, excursus de Celtis. (Alsatia illustrata, tomus I. Colmariæ, 1751, fo. page 70, &c.)

101. Des druides; par D. Rivet. (Histoire littéraire de France, Paris, 1773, 4to. p. 30, &c.)

102. Dissertation sur les druides des Gaules.

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(Explication de divers monumens singuliers, &c. Paris, 1739, 4to.)

103. Discours historique sur les druides, par M. Dreux de Radier. (Recueil de l'académie de la Rochelle, p. 141.)

104. Description d'une statue antique d'un prêtre Gaulois, que se conserve dans la bibliothèque publique de Genève, par M. Laurent Baulaire. (Journal Helvétique, 1753, Mai, & La nouvelle bib. Germanique, XII, 374)

105. Observations sur l'usage des sacrifices humains établis chez différentes nations, & particulièrement chez les Gaulois; par M. Freret. (Histoire de l'académie des belles-lettres, tome XVIII, page 178.)

106. Observations historiques & critiques, par M. Pelloutier (sur l'abolition des sacrifices humains dans les Gaules, & la ruine des druides. (Nouvelle bib. Germanique, XXV, 438.)

107. Dissertation de la langue Celtique, ou sur le Bas-Breton, 1706. (Recueil de dissertations sur divers sujets d'antiquité, par le père Lempereur.)

108. Sur la langue vulgaire de la Gaule. (Histoire de l'académie, XXI, p. 244.)

109. Lettre de M. Deslandes, sur la langue

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Celtique. (Mercure, 1727, Juin, 1 vol. p. 1107-1112.)

110. Dissertation sur l'ancienne langue Gauloise. (Mercure, 1742, Janvier, p. 6, Fevrier, p. 37, & Mars, p. 424.)

111. Deux mémoires sur l'origine & les révolutions des langues Celtique & Françoise; par M. Du Clos. (Histoire de l'académie des belles-lettres, tome xv, p. 565; xvii, 171.)

112. Sur la langue vulgaire de la Gaule, depuis César jusqu'au règne de Philippe Auguste; par M. L'évesque de la Ravailliere. (Histoire de l'académie des belles-lettres, tome xxiii, page 244.)

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113. Gildæ, cui cognomentum est sapientis, de excidio & conquestu Britanniæ, ac flebili castigatione in reges, principes, & sacerdotes epistola, vetustissimorum exemplariorum auxilio non solum a mendis plurimis vindicata, sed etiam accessione eorum, quæ in prima editione a Polydoro Vergilio resecta erant, multipliciter aucta. 1568. Londini excudebat Ioannes Daius, 8vo.

114. Gildæ sapientis De excidio Britanniæ liber querulus. Ex antiquissimo MS. Cod. Cantabrigiensi (Historiæ Britannicæ, &c. Scrip-

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tores xv. opera Thomae Gale. Oxoniæ, 1691, fo. and Britannicarum gentium historiæ antiquæ scriptores tres, à Carolo Bertramo. Havniæ, 1757, 8vo.)

115. The epistle of Gildas, the most ancient British author: who flourished in the yeere of our lord 546, and who by his great erudition, sanctitie, and wisedome, acquired the name of *Sapiens*. Faithfully translated out of the originall Latine. [By Thomas Habington.] London, printed by T. Cotes for William Cooke, and are to be sold at his shop neere Furnivalls-Inne gate in Holborne, 1638, 8vo.* (A wretched version.)

116. Eulogium Britanniæ sive Historia Britonum auctore Nennio. (Historiæ Britannicæ, &c. scriptores xv, à Gale; and Britan gen. historiæ antiquæ scrip. tres, à Bertramo.)

117. Britannie utriusque regum & principum origo & gesta insignia ab Galfrido Monemutensi ex antiquissimis Britannici sermonis monumentis in latinum sermonem traducta: & ab Ascensio cura & impendio magistri Luonis Cavellati in lucem edita: prostant in ejusdem ædibus. [Pa-

* Part of the impression appeared, with a different title, in 1653.

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risiis, 1508, 1517] 4to. Again in 1587, fo. (Fabulous.)

118. The British history, translated into English from the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth. With a large preface concerning the authority of the history. By Aaron Thompson, late of Queen's college, Oxon. London: printed for J. Bowyer, at the Rose in Ludgate-street, H. Clements at the Half-moon, and W. and J. Innys at the Princes-arms in St. Paul's church-yard, MDCCXVIII. 8vo.

119. Historiae Brytannicae defensio, Ioanne Priseo equestris ordinis Brytanno authore. Londini, Impressum in ædibus H. Binneman typographi, impensis Humfredi Toy. Anno 1573.

120. The historie of Cambria now called Wales: a part of the most famous yland of Brytaine, written in the Brytish language above two hundreth yeares past: translated into English by H. Lhoyd gentleman: Corrected, augmented, and continued out of records and best approoved authors, by David Powel doctor in divinitie. [London, 1584] 4to. Again: London, 1697, 1702, 1774, 8vo.

121. The history of Great Britain, from the first inhabitants thereof, till the death of Cadwallader last king of the Britains; and of the

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kings of Scotland to Eugene V. As also a short account of the kings, dukes, and earls of Bretagne, till that dukedom was united to the crown of France, ending with the year of our lord 68; in which are several pieces of Taliessin, an antient British poet, and a defence of the antiquity of the Scotish nation: with many other antiquities, never before published in the English tongue: with a compleat index to the whole. By John Lewis, esq.; barrester at law. Now first published from his original manuscript [By Hugh Thomas]. To which is added, The breviary of Britayne, written in Latin by Humfrey Lhuyd, of Denbigh, a Cambre Britayne; and lately Englished by Thomas Twine, gent. London: printed for F. Gyles in Holborn, Mess. Woodman and Lyon in Covent-garden, and C. Davis in Paternoster-row. MDCCXXIX. fo. (Fabulous.)

122. Bardoniaeth, sive De arte poëseos Cambro-Britannicæ (auctore G. Middleton.) Londini, 1593, 4to.

123. Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates. A Jacobo Usserio archiepiscopo Armachano, totius Hiberniæ primate. Dubliniæ, 1639, 4to. Londini, 1687, fo.

124. The most notable antiquity of Great

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Britain, vulgarly called Stone-heng, on Salisbury-plain. Restored by Inigo Jones esq; architect-general to the late king. London, 1655, fo. (He foolishly maintains it to be a Roman work.)

125. Chorea gigantum, or, the most famous antiquity of Great-Britain, vulgarly called Stone-heng, standing on Salisbury-plain, restored to the Danes; by Walter Charleton, doctor in physic, and physician in ordinary to his majesty. London, 1663, 4to. (Dr. Charleton, with little less folly than Mr. Jones, supposes it to be Danish.)

126. A vindication of Stone-heng restored: in which orders and rules of architecture, observed by the antient Romans, are discuss'd. By John Webb, of Butleigh, in the county of Somerset, esq. London, 1665, fo. (This and the two preceding articles were reprinted together in 1725, fo.)

127. A dissertation on the antiquity of Stone-henge; with a poem by a clergyman living in the neighbourhood of that famous monument of antiquity. Salisbury, 1730, 12mo.

128. Stone-henge, a temple restor'd to the British druids. By William Stukeley, D. D. London, 1740, fo. (Fanciful and romantic; there not being the slightest authority, in any

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ancient author, that the druids made use of such like temples.)

129. Choir Gaure, vulgarly called Stone-henge, on Salisbury plain, described, restored, and explain'd; in a letter to the right hon. Edward late earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer. By .... Wood, architect. Oxford, 1747, 8vo.

130. Choir Gaur; the grand orrery of the antient druids, commonly called Stone-henge, on Salisbury plain, astronomically explained, and mathematically proved to be a temple erected in the earliest ages for observing the motions of the heavenly bodies. Illustrated with three copies. By Dr. John Smith, inoculator of the small pox. Salisbury, 1770, 4to. (Absurdly ridiculous.)

131. Abury, a temple of the British druids, with some others described. Wherein is a more particular account of the first and patriarchal religion; and of the peopling of the British islands. Volume the second. London, 1743, fo.

132. An enquiry into the patriarchal and druidical religion, temples, &c. being the substance of some letters to sir Hildebrand Jacob, bart. wherein, the primæval institution and universality of the christian scheme is manifested; the principles of the patriarchs and druids all laid

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open, and shewn to correspond entirely with each other, and both with the doctrines of Christianity; the earliest antiquities of the British islands are explained; and an account given of the sacred structures of the druids; particularly the stupendous works of Abiry, Stone-henge, &c. in Wiltshire are minutely described....By William Cooke, M. A. rector of Oldbury and Didmerton in Gloucestershire, &c. London, 1754, 1755, 4to. (A crack-brained enthusiast, and infected by Stukeley.)

133. Itinerarium curiosum, or an account of the antiquitys and remarkable curiositys in nature or art, observ'd in travels thro' Great Britain; illustrated with copper prints. By William Stukeley, D. D. Centuria I. London, 1724, fo. (The doctor was a great hunter of druidical monuments with which his imagination perpetually supplied him.)

134. Cambria triumphans: or Britain in its perfect lustre, shewing the origen and antiquity of that illustrious nation, the succession of their kings and princes from the first to k. Charles of happy memory: the description of the country, the history of the antient and modern estate, the manner of the investiture of the princes; with

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the coats of arms of the nobility. By Percy Enderbie, gent. London, 1661, fo.

135 British antiquities revived: or a friendly contest touching the soveraignty of the three princes of Wales in ancient times, managed with certain arguments, whereunto answers are applyed. By Robert Vaughan, esq. Oxford, 1662, 4to.

136. The western wonder, or O Brazeel, an inchanted island, discovered; with a relation of two shipwrecks in a dreadful sea-storm in that discovery. To which is added, a description of a place called Montecæpernia, relating to the nature of the people, their qualities, humours, fashions, religions, &c. London, 1674, 4to.

137. Wallography, or the Briton described, being a pleasant relation of a journey into Wales; wherein are set down several remarkable passages that occurred in the way thither, and also many choice observables and notable commemorations concerning the state and conditions, the nature, and humourous actions, manners, customs, &c. of that country and people; by William Richards, a mighty lover of Welsh travels and memoirs of Wales. London, 1682, 12mo. (Reprinted, with other things, under the title of "a collection of Welsh travels and memoirs of Wales:" London [1741], 12mo.)

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138. Cyfreithjeu Hywel Dda ac eraill, seu Leges Wallicæ ecclesiasticæ & civiles Hoeli Boni & aliorum Walliae principum, quas ex variis codicibus manuscriptis eruit, interpretatione Latina, notis & glossario illustravit Gulielmus Wottonus, S.T.P. Adjuvante Mose Gulielmo, A.M R.S. Soc. Qui et appendicem adjecit. Londini, Typis Gulielmi Bowyer, MDCCXXX, fo.

139. Mona antiqua restaurata: an archæological discourse on the antiquities natural and historical of the isle of Anglesey, the antient seat of the British druids. In two essays. With an appendix containing a comparative table of primitive words and the derivatives of them in several of the tongues of Europe; with remarks upon them. By Henry Rowlands, vicar of Llanidan, in the isle of Anglesey. Dublin, 1723; London, 1766, 4to.

140. Glossarium antiquitatum Britannicarum, sive Syllabus etymologicus antiquitatum veteris Britanniæ atque Iberniæ, temporibus Romanorum. Auctore Willielmo Baxter, Cornavio, scholæ merciariorum præfecto. Accedunt viri Cl. D. Edvardi Luidii, Cimeliarchæ Ashmol. Oxon. De fluviorum, montium, urbium, &c. in Britanniâ nominibus, adversaria posthuma. Londini, 1719. Editio secunda. Londini: Impensis

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T. Woodward, C. Davis, J. Hazard, W. Bickerton, & R. Chandler. MDCCXXXIII, 8vo.

141. Some specimens of the poetry of the antient Welsh bards. Translated into English, with explanatory notes on the historical passages, and a short account of men and places mentioned by the bards, in order to give the curious some idea of the taste and sentiments of our ancestors, and their manner of writing. [Including *De bardis dissertatio; in qua nonnulla quæ ad eorum antiquitatem et munus respiciunt, et ad præcipuos qui in Cambria floruerunt, breviter discutiuntur.*] By the revd. Mr. Evan Evans, curate of Llanvair Talyhaern in Denbighshire: London, printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-mall. M.DCC.LXIV, 4to.

142. Gorchestion beirdd Cymru: neu Flodau Godidowgrwydd awen. Wedi eu lloffa, aù dethol, allan o waith rhai o'r Awduriaid arddèrchoccaf, a fu erioed yn yr I aith Gymraeg. O Gasgliad Rhys Jones, o'r Tyddyn Mawr, yn y Brynaich, ym mhlwyf Llanfachreth, yn Swydd Feirion. Amwythig, Argraffwyd gan Stafford Prys, yn y Flwyddyn. M, DCC, LXXIII, 4to.

143. The works of Davydd ab Gwilym, a Welsh bard of the fourteenth century. London, 1792, 8vo.

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144. The heroic elegies and other pieces of Llywarç Hen, prince of the Cumbrian Britons: with a literal translation, by William Owen. London, printed for J. Owen, No. 168, Piccadilly, and E. Williams, Strand. MDCCXCII, 8vo.

145. A dictionary in English and Welshe, moche necessary to all suche Welshemen, as wil spedly learne the Englyshe tongue, thought unto the kynges maiestie very mete to be sette forthe, to the use of his graces subjects in Wales: whereunto is prefixed a little treatyse of the English pronounciation of the letters: by Wyllyam Salesbury. London, printed by Edward Whitchurch (without date), and by John Walley, 1547, 4to.

146, Kiynniver uith aban or yscry thur lan ac a dailleir yr eccleis pryd commun, y Sulieua'r Gwilieu trwy'r vluy dyn: o Camberciat, W. S — Imprinted by Robert Crowley for William Salesbury, 1551, 4to.

147 A playne and familiar introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Britishe tounge. By William Salesbury, 1555, and now augmented: printed by H. Denham for Humphrey Toy, 1567, 4to.

148. Cambrobrytannicæ Cymbraecæve linguæ institutiones & rudimenta accuratè & (quantum

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fieri potuit) succinctè & compendiosè conscripta à Joanne Davide Rhæso, Monensi Lanvætheæo Cambrobrytanno, Medico Senensi: Ad illust. virum Edouardum Strad equestris ordinis Cambrobrytannum: Ad intelligend. biblia sacra nuper in Cambrobrytannicum sermonem & castè & eleganter versa...Cum exacta carminis Cymraecae condendi ratione & Cambrobrytannicorum poematum generibus, &c. Londini, Excudebat Thomas Orwinus, 1592, fo.

149. Grammatica Britannica in usum ejus linguæ studiosorum succinta methodo et perspicuitate facili conscripta; & nunc primum in lucem edita: Henrico Salesburio Denbighiensi autore: Londini, 1593, 8vo.

150. Antiquæ linguæ Britannicæ, nunc vulgò dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, a suis Cymraccae vel Cambricae, ab aliis Wallicæ et linguæ Latinæ Dictionarium duplex. Londini, impress. in ædibus R. Young, Impensis Joan. Davies SS. Th. D. [auctoris] an. dom. 1632, fo.

151. Archæologia Britannica, Giving some account additional to what has been hitherto publish'd of the languages, histories and customs of the original inhabitants of Great Britain: From collections and observations in travels through Wales, Cornwal, Bas-Bretagne, Ireland and Scot-

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land. By Edward Lhuyd M. A. of Jesus College, keeper of the Ashmolean museum in Oxford. Vol. I. Glossography. Oxford, printed at the Theater for the author, MDCCVII, fo.

152. Antiquæ linguæ thesaurus: being a British, or Welsh-English dictionary. By Thomas Richards, curate of Coychurch. Bristol, 1759, 8vo.

153. The Welsh and English dictionary; compiled from the laws, history, poetry, manners, &c. of the Welsh. By William Owen. London, 1799, 4to.

154. Y bibl cyssegr-lan, sef, yr hen destament a'r newydd. II Tim. iii. 16, 17. Yr holl ysgrythur sydd wedi ei rhoddi gan ysbrydoliaeth dduw, ac sydd fuddiol i athrawiaethu, i argyoeddi, i geryddu, i hyffordi mewn cyfiawnder: Fel y byddo dŷn duw yn berffaith, wedi ei berffeithio i bôb gweithred dda. Llundain: Printiedig gan Mark Baskett, printiwr i ardderchoccaf fawrhydi'r brenhin; a chan wrthddrychiaid Robert Baskett, 1769, 8vo. (Bible and new testament in Welsh.)

155. Llyf gweddi-gyffredin, a Gweinidogaeth y sacramentau, a chyneddfau a seremoniau eraill y eglwys, yn olarfer eglwys Loegr: a psalmau Dafydd, Fel eu maent bwyntiedig i'w Darllain a'u canu yn yr eglowysydd. Ynghyda nam yn

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un deugain Erthyglau crefydd: Argraphwyd yn y Mwythig, acar werth yno gan Stafford Prys, Gwerthwr Llyfrau, 1760, 8vo. (Book of common prayer in Welsh.)

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156. Observations on the antiquities, historical and monumental, of the county of Cornwall, consisting of several essays on the first inhabitants, druid-superstition, customs and remains of the most remote antiquity in Britain and the British isles, exemplified and proved by monuments now extant in Cornwall and the Scilly islands, with a vocabulary of the Cornu-British language. By William Borlase, rector of Ludgvan, in Cornwall. Oxford, 1754, 1769, fo.

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159. Dictionnaire Bas-Breton ou Celtique, par le père Grégoire de Rostrenen, capucin. A Rennes, 1732, 4to.

160. Grammaire Françoise-Celtique, ou Françoise-Bretonne: par le père Grégoire de Rostrenen, capucin: Rennes, 1738, 8vo.

161. Dictionnaire de la langue Bretonne, où l'on voit son antiquité, son affinité avec les anciennes langues, l'explication de plusieurs passages de l'écriture sainte, et des auteurs profanes, avec l'etymologie de plusieurs mots des autres langues. Par dom Louis Le Pelletier, religieux Bénédictin de la congrégation de S. Maur. A Paris, chez François Delaguette, imprimeur-libraire, rue S. Jacques, à l'olivier, M.DCC.LII, fo.

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162. Dictionnaire François-Breton, ou François Celtique, enrichi de thèmes; dans lequel on trouvera les genres du François & du Bréton, les infinitifs, les participes passifs, les présens d'l'indicatif, suivant la première façon de conjuguer, & une orthographe facile, tant pour l'écriture que pour la prononciation; par M. l'A..... La Haye, & se vend à Paris, 1756, 8vo.

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164. The image of Ireland, with a discoverie of wood karne, wherein is most lively expressed the nature and qualitie of the saied Wilde Irishe Woodkarne, their notable aptnesse, celeritie and pronesse to rebellions and by waie of argumente

* There is in fact no other edition, though copies are to be met with dated in 1723, and 1732.

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is manifested their originall and offspring, their descent and pedigree; also their habitte and apparell is there plainly showne....Made and devised by John Derricke anno 1578, and now published and set forthe by the saied authour this present yere of our lorde 1581, for pleasure and delight of well disposed readers. Imprinted at London by John Daie 1581, 4to.

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166. A new description of Ireland: wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined: no less admirable to be perused then credible to be beleeved: neither unprofitable nor unpleasant to be read and understood, by those worthy citizens of London that be now undertakers in Ireland. By Barnabe Rich, gent. London, 1610, 4to.

167. A kind excuse of that book called A new description of Ireland, by Barnabe Rich, London, 1612, 4to.

168. The antiquities and history of Ireland, By the right honourable sir James Ware, Knt. Now first published in one volume in English;

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and the life of sir James Ware prefixed. London, printed [1705, and] for R. Robinson, at the Golden lyon in St. Paul's church-yard, MDCCXIV, fo.

169. The history and antiquities of Ireland, &c. Written in Latin by sir James Ware, knight; newly translated into English, revised and improved with many material additions, and continued down to the beginning of the present century. By Walter Harris, esq.: Dublin, printed for Robert Bell in Stephen-street, opposite Aungier street; and John Fleming, in Sycamore alley, MDCCLXIV, fo.

170. Ogygia: seu, Rerum Hibernicarum chronologia, Ex pervetustis monumentis fideliter inter se collatis eruta, atque è sacris ac prophanis literis primarum orbis gentium tam genealogicis, quam chronologicis sufflaminata præsidiis. Liber primus. Ab universali diluvio, ad annum virginei partus 428. In tres partes distinctus. Quarum, prima Ogygiæ Insula; seu brevis tractatus de Hiberniæ insula, primis incolis, variis nominibus, dimensionibus, regibus, regumque electionibus. Secunda Ogygiæ Extera; seu Synchronismus, in quo Hibernorum tempora pariter, ac generationes cum exteris accurate conferuntur. Tertia Ogygiæ Domestica; seu Re-

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171. Ogygia, or a chronological account of Irish events: collected from very ancient documents, faithfully compared with each other, and supported by the genealogical and chronological aid of the sacred and prophane writings of the first nations of the globe. Written originally in Latin by Roderic O'Flaherty, esq. Translated by the revd. James Hely, A.B. (two volumes.) Dublin, printed by W. M'Kenzie, no. 33, College green, 1793, 8vo. (An execrable translation.)

172. The Ogygia vindicated: against the objections of sir George Mackenzie, king's advocate for Scotland in the reign of king James II. (A posthumous work). By Roderic O'Flaherty, esq.;

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173. A brief discourse in vindication of the antiquity of Ireland: collected out of many authentick Irish histories and Chronicles, and out of foreign learned authors. (By H. Mac Curtin.) Dublin, printed by S. Powell, at the sign of the Printing press in copper alley, for the author, 1717, 4to. (Fabulous.)

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177. Reliques of Irish poetry: consisting of heroic poems, odes, elegies, and songs, translated into English verse: with notes explanatory and historical; and the originals in the Irish character. By miss Brooke. George Bonham, printer, South Great St. George's-street, Dublin, MDCCLXXXIX, 4to.

178. Antiquities of Ireland. By Edward Ledwich LL. B. M. R. I. and F. A. S. of London and Scotland. Dublin, printed for Arthur Grueber, No. 59, Dame-street, 1790, 4to.

179. An analysis of the history and antiquities of Ireland, prior to the fifth century. To which is subjoined a review of the general history of

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the Celtic nations. By William Webb. Dublin, 8vo.

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181. Grammatica Latino-Hibernica compendiata. A Francisco O Molloy.) Romæ, 1677, 12mo.

182. The elements of the Irish language grammatically explained in English. In 14 chapters. by H. Mac Curtin. Printed at Lovain, by Martin Van Overbeke, near the Halls. Anno 1728. 8vo.

183. An essay on the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland: wherein they are placed in a clearer light than hitherto. Designed as an introduction to a larger work, &c. (By David Malcolme.) Edinburgh, 1738, 8vo. (This title is a mere puff; the book, beside Lhuyds prefaces, containing nothing more than the specimen of an Irish dictionary, and the authors letters and proceedings in order to get it published.)

184. Focaloir Gavidhilge-Sax-bhearla, or an Irish-English dictionary. Whereof the Irish part hath been compiled not only from various

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Irish vocabularies, particularly that of Mr. Edward Lhuyd; but also from a great variety of the best Irish manuscripts now extant; especially those that have been composed from the 9th and 10th centuries, down to the 16th: besides those of the lives of St. Patrick and St. Brigit, written in the 6th and 7th centuries. [By J. O'Brien.] Paris, printed by Nicholas-Francis Valleyre, for the author. M.DCC.LXVIII, 4to.*

185. A grammar of the Iberno-Celtic, or Irish language.

186. *Idem.* The second edition with many additions. To which is prefixed, an essay on the Celtic language; shewing the importance of the Iberno-Celtic or Irish dialect, to students in history, antiquity, and the Greek and Roman classics. Dublin, printed, by R. Marchbank, and sold by L. L. Flin, Castle-street, M,DCC,LXXXI, 8vo.

187. An biobla naomhtha, iona bhfuil leabhair na seintiomna ar na Harruing as an Eabhra go Goidheilg tré chúram agus dhú thrachd an doctur, Ṿilliam Bedel, Roimhe so easbug Chille móire a

* There was an Irish Dictionary before this by Begly and Mac Curtin: but it is exceedingly rare, and does not appear to have been known to O'Brien.

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